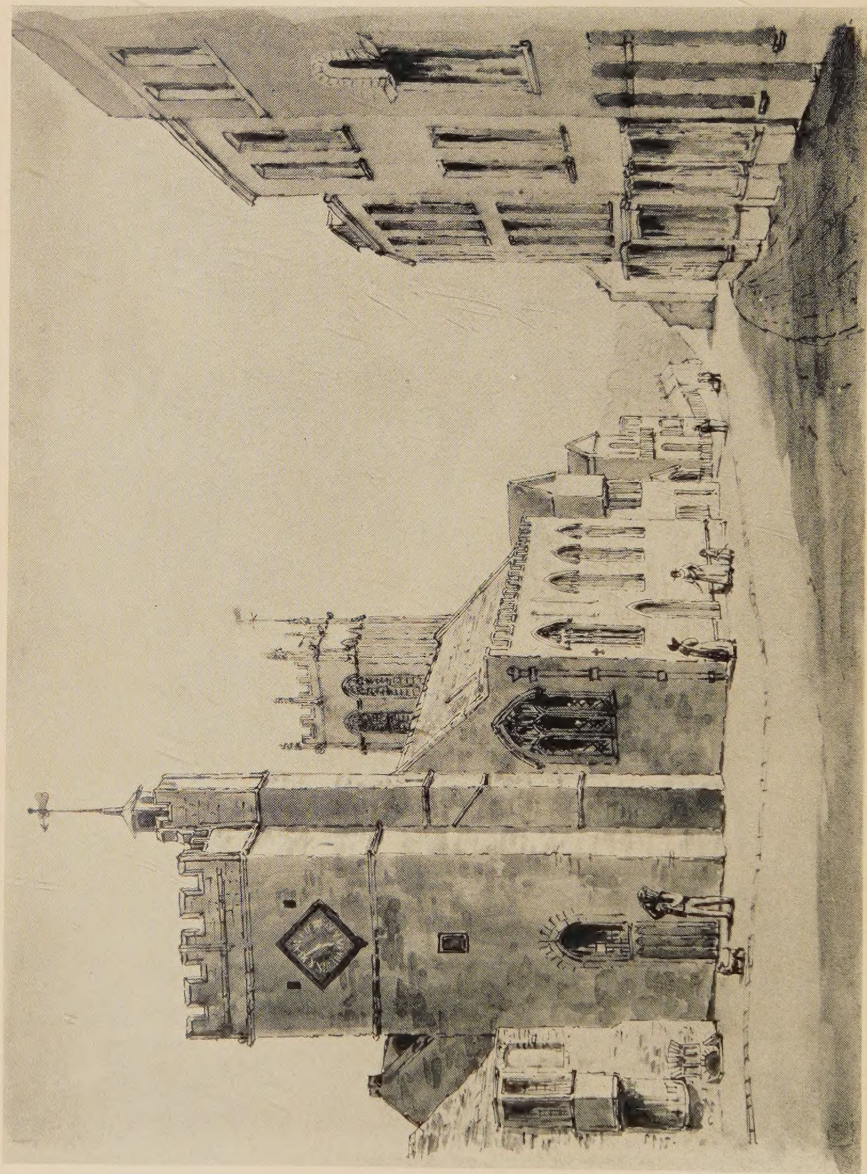


W.T. GRAHAM

Wm. Graham



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HOLY TRINITY CHURCH AND ST. PETER'S CHURCH, DORCHESTER

From a sepia drawing made about 1800

JOHN WHITE

THE PATRIARCH OF DORCHESTER

[DORSET]

AND

THE FOUNDER OF MASSACHUSETTS

1575-1648

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN
MASSACHUSETTS

1620-1630

BY

FRANCES ROSE-TROUP

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AUTHOR OF "THE WESTERN REBELLION OF 1549," "LOST CHAPELS OF EXETER,"
"BISHOP GRANDISSON, STUDENT AND ART-LOVER," ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

*"Surely the Long and Various experiences of such a Captain in the
Lords Hoasts, such a Veterane in Christs Service, must
needs yield much matter of Comfort and Profit"*

NEW YORK : LONDON

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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JOHN WHITE



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by

Frances Rose-Troup

Published, Spring, 1930

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Made in the United States of America

DEDICATED TO
THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER
ISABELLA JAMES

FOREWORD

The manuscript of this volume has twice been in the hands of Professor S. E. Morison, who was thus enabled to print in his "Builders of the Bay Colony" certain hitherto unpublished items which I had obtained by laborious research.

If I had had the opportunity of reading his book before mine went to press I should have dwelt at greater length upon the religious aims of the Dorchester Company and I should have pointed out that there was good ground in 1623 for White's anticipation that a refuge for Puritans would shortly be required. James I had threatened to harry them out of his kingdom, and White's own brother-in-law, who was ready to conform to the Ceremonies, went into exile; Archbishop Bancroft's strict requirements regarding the Articles and the increasing influence of the High Church party, threatened the security of the "conformable clerks" before Laud was promoted to a bishopric.

On another point I should have taken care to emphasize, that White did not lack means to contribute to the formation of the "New England Company," but, on the contrary, subscribed fifty pounds—only two members are entered as paying a larger sum at this time.

Far from retiring to *another* parish in Dorchester, White retained for forty-two years the two parishes of Holy Trinity and St. Peter's, which had been united more than three hundred years before White was instituted in 1606.

It seems necessary to call attention to these matters, because Professor Morison, in his book, does not specify the authority for his statements, a strange departure from modern methods of scholarship. The references in the present volume will allow the student to judge directly on many controversial points.

INTRODUCTION

"To speak of the Worth of the Authour is needlesse, his praise being already in all the Churches: onely I must professe my sorrow, that, he being a Person of so much Eminency and Note, none hath collected the Memorable passages of his Life: If his Reverend Colleague that was so intimately acquainted with him, would do something in this kind, it could not but be very acceptable to the godly of this Nation. For surely the Long and Various Experiences of such a Captain in the Lords Hoasts, such a Veterane in Christs Service, must needs yield much matter of Comfort and Profit, when we shall come to the notice of them."

This eulogy of the Reverend John White of Dorchester, Dorset, was written by Thomas Manton, an eminent Puritan divine, in 1653. Two and a half centuries ago William Benn laid down his pen for the last time and the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of John White's birth has passed, yet no biography of the "Patriarch of Dorchester" has been produced—a few paragraphs in collections of lives of eminent men, short sketches in histories of New England, or brief notices in minor works, is all that exists, and most of these contain glaring errors as well as misrepresentations and misconceptions.¹

For three and forty years John White was the honoured pastor of the combined parishes of Holy Trinity and St. Peter in Dorchester, and during that period, without neglecting his cure of souls, he found time to take part in many affairs in the outside world. On the one hand, he watched the development of the Puritan movement, becoming by degrees more and more absorbed, then taking an active part; at last he found himself swept into the current

¹ The Dictionary of National Biography and the Victoria County History of Dorset are examples of inadequate and inaccurate accounts—the former through lack of information, the latter for unpardonable misreading of printed material and a confusion of several clergymen of the same name.

which he had vainly striven to keep within its ancient bounds. When no longer a middle course between the two forms of church government could be found he joined whole-heartedly in the task of establishing the Presbyterian system and became a prominent member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines working to that end. He stood high in the opinion both of the Church party and of their opponents. As an Assessor of the Assembly of Divines he commanded the respect and esteem of all the warring elements it contained.

On the other hand, he was instrumental in establishing that colony in the New World which developed into the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts, yet his efforts in that direction have not been fully recognised, nor has the importance of the settlements undertaken under his auspices been properly understood because their history has been involved in obscurity. New Plymouth had its own historian in its first governor, who was by no means free of the prejudices usually entertained by those who have taken part in events they describe; moreover, the credit of his colony had been called in question and he was in duty bound to interpret everything favourably. As regards the early settlements on the opposite shore of the Bay, which thwarted and displeased him, he simply ignored their existence.

It has been declared frequently that the Cape Ann plantation was merely an offshoot of the Plymouth colony, but on the contrary, as will be seen, it was established in direct opposition to that settlement, for the purpose of providing a refuge for those who disapproved of the system adopted by the Pilgrim Fathers.

The successive settlements on the North Shore and at the "bottom of the Bay" are all connected by the thread of John White's interest in them, and the fostering care he bestowed upon them. His belief in the ultimate success of such a colony as he desired, survived many rebuffs—as one venture after another failed he made a more vigorous attempt by beginning afresh elsewhere. The righteousness of his purpose inspired him and he anticipated that the hand of God would accomplish it in the end.

As we trace the history of these forlorn hopes, we stand amazed at his patience and perseverance, rewarded though they were, however, by a measure of success before the control of affairs passed to the men on the spot. Afterwards he viewed with sadness and disapproval the spirit inspiring the settlers which seemed likely to end in the shipwreck of the colony. It can only be hoped that with the eye of faith he saw the marvellous success of after years when "the little one had become a thousand."

.

In depicting the course of events and in describing the two great interests of his life reliance has been placed on contemporary evidence wherever it has been available. Many sources hitherto untouched have been tapped, documents in public and private collections have been used, and a co-relation of material has thrown fresh light upon the subject so that we are able to understand better what has already been printed. White's own writings have been used as evidence of his opinions and have also furnished autobiographical information.

In conclusion it is hoped that this book, the result of study and research carried on during more than forty years, may set forth in a clear light the noble efforts of John White to benefit mankind in both hemispheres and may "yield comfort and profit" to all who read it.

FRANCES ROSE TROUP

Ottery St. Mary.

October, 1930

I am deeply indebted to a great number of persons for the kind assistance given me during the half century in which I have been engaged in preparing this volume—The majority have passed away so that it is impossible for me to convey to them my thanks; those, who remain will, I trust, accept this general, but sincere, expression of gratitude.

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JOHN WHITE

CHAPTER I

THE WHITES OF HAMPSHIRE

"History is the memory of time, the life of the dead,
and the happiness of the living."

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

MANY things combine to form and develop a man's character; heredity and environment are accounted important factors, while family tradition may be allowed a share. When the ancestors of his hero have been sufficiently eminent to have their life histories recorded the biographer finds in the pedigree something more than genealogical details, for a person often inherits his mental outlook as well as physical features from his great-great-grandfather, while that gentleman's achievements, told him when a child, may account for some unexpected action.

Belonging to an armigerous family John White carried back the pedigree he himself drew up for the Herald's Visitation to the Whites of Southwyke, Hampshire. There is reason to believe, though the exact relationship has not been discovered, that this was a branch of the Whytes of Farnham, which counted among its members men of mark with deep religious feeling, who in the testing time of transition in ecclesiastical matters, clung to the Old Faith and even suffered persecution. As the new system, with its changed form of worship, took shape and was enforced, the opinions of the learned men, at the Universities and elsewhere, influenced the rising generation so that they conformed to it and became earnest in its defence.

So, too, we find John White, fulfilling the family destiny in his own person, inheriting the religious emotions of his ancestors, holding firmly the faith in which he had been educated, influenced by the trend of the theology of the schoolmen of his day, gradually moving with the spirit of the times, though he failed to advance to the extreme views adopted by the rising generation.

Space will not allow more than a brief reference to his ancestors and more eminent kinsfolk who were descended from Thomas Whyte of Purvyle, or Purfield, near Farnham. The branches settled at Basingstoke and South Warnboro' produced a number of famous men. Usually the sons of these houses went to Winchester College and New College, passing out into the world to make their mark, more often as ecclesiastics but not infrequently as merchants of importance. For instance, Robert White, Mayor of the Staple in Calais, who died in 1467, had a son, Robert White the Younger, of Farnham, who died in 1518, leaving several children. Henry, in holy orders, became Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, and died in 1538; Robert, a clothier at Farnham, died in 1523; John "the Elder," a grocer of London, became Lord Mayor at a critical period of history and died in 1573¹; "John my sonne the younger," as he is called in his father's will, became a famous ecclesiastic. Of him Fuller quaintly writes:—"of a Worshipful House, [he] began on the floor, and mounted up to the Roof of Spiritual Dignity in this diocese. First Scholar of Winchester, then Fellow of New Colledge in Oxford, then Master of Winchester School: then Warden of that Colledge, and at last (taking Lincoln Bishoprick in his passage) Bishop of Winchester."² He held to the ancient faith, and, as he admitted receiving letters and books from beyond seas condemning Edward VI's proceedings, he was committed to

¹ He was buried at Aldershot where Machyn saw his funeral trophies:—a standard as a knight, four pennants—of his own arms, of the merchant adventurers, of the grocers, and of the city,—a coat of armour, a target, helmet, crest, mantles and swords. [*Diary*, p. xxxiii.] Two of his daughters married into the Tichborne family.

² *Worthies*, I. p. 405.

the Tower "until he showed better conformity in matters of religion."³ On Mary's accession he espoused her cause⁴ and publicly disputed with Cranmer, Latimer, and others. He was rewarded with the two bishoprics mentioned by Fuller. His fame as a preacher led to his appointment to preach at St. Paul's Cross a funeral sermon on the Queen; his text was "Wherefore I praise the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive." On referring to the Queen's "grievous yet patient death," he wept unfeignedly, but when able to proceed he added that "she had left a sister to succeed her, a lady of great worth also, whom they were now bound to obey, for, saith he, *better is a living dog than a dead lion*, and I hope so shall reign prosperously over us; but I must say with my text, I have praised the dead more than the living, for certain it is that Mary hath chosen the better part."⁵ The outraged Elizabeth, finding also that he was zealous for the old religion and threatened to excommunicate her, committed him to the Tower and deprived him of his bishopric. But he was soon released. Retiring to his sister's house at South Warnboro', he spent the remaining six months of his life in "great sanctity and recluseness," dying on 11th January, 1559/60. He was a writer of repute⁶ and a generous benefactor to Winchester College, to which he bequeathed his crozier, certain plate, a turkey carpet, and other articles. To New College he gave Hall Place, or Oakley Place, in Michelmersh,⁷ Hampshire, on condition that every scholar on his admission should receive 6s. 8d. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral, but at Winchester College is a palimpsest brass, inscribed with Latin verses of his own composition—*inter alia* he expressed fear that a grasping heir might leave him without honour and without name; heirs are ungrateful, as man has nothing to

³ Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, II. p. 233.

⁴ On her marriage he wrote an Epithalamium.

⁵ Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, I. p. 312.

⁶ His best known work is *Diacosia Martyrion*.

⁷ This is the next parish to Timsbury and tends to confirm the kinship of the Whites of Southwyke and of Farnham.

hope when he is buried and great hope should be placed in pious prayers.⁸

The Farnham and South Warnboro' Whites intermarried;⁹ of this branch was Gilbert White of Selborne. The Basingstoke branch counted among its members Richard White, Fellow of New College, 1555, who refused to conform to the change in religious worship and retired to the great university of Douai, where he became Regius Professor and was made Count Palatine, dying in the odour of sanctity, leaving monumental writings.

It was still another offshoot from the parent stock that produced our hero; his kinship with the Southwyke Whites is established, but their connexion with the original White of Purfield is less certain.

The arms of John White, the first to own the site of Southwyke Priory, differed from those of the other Hampshire Whites. Comment has been made on the intricacy of their several armorial bearings—"we find each individual bent on being the founder of a distinct family and the result is that there are no less than seven different coats assigned to the different branches."¹⁰ Not only did this John White assume a new one but, perhaps to enhance his own importance as the founder of a family, his father's name is omitted from all pedigrees, so the connecting link has been lost.

It must have been about the beginning of the sixteenth century

⁸ Not long since a lead coffin swathed in bands of hay was found in Winchester Cathedral, supposed to have been that of the Bishop who had been brought from South Warnboro'. P. C. Langdon described the brass in the *Hampshire Field Club Proceedings*, III. Curiously, in 1550, John White corresponded with "one Martin, a scholar beyond seas," and in 1575 Sir Thomas White presented, as an original scholar, to St. John's College, Oxford, one Martin, afterwards a licentiate of Douai who reproved Warden Thomas White for following the world and dissembling his religion. See p. 16.

⁹ The Lord Mayor White married Sibell, daughter of Robert White of South Warnboro', and the Lord Mayor's sister, Agnes, married Thomas White of South Warnboro'. Queen Elizabeth, when at Winchester, rode over to this Thomas's house and knighted him before breakfast. He is often confused with Sir Thomas White of Rickmansworth, also a Lord Mayor, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford.

¹⁰ Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 3rd ed., IV. p. 156.

that John White of Southwyke was born and baptised at Havant. As early as 1534 he was employed in some capacity by Lord Lisle [Arthur Plantagenet]; on 22nd November it was reported to Lady Lisle that "Mr. White is through in his matter and will enjoy his office as he did before."¹¹ Presumably this refers to the post of "Prothonotary of Hampshire" which he held in the following year when on 22nd July he wrote to Lord Lisle from Winchester concerning a law suit, saying that the Sheriff had sent both "the writ and the panel to me, not knowing I was counsel with your lordship." As he quotes the opinion of the opposing counsel, it is probable that he was acting in a similar capacity for Lord Lisle.¹²

Later he was employed by Sir Thomas Wroithesley, afterwards the first Earl of Southampton, to whom he wrote on 26th December, 1537, saying in the course of his letter, "We your servants and a great multitude of loving hearts, were merry on St. Stephen's day, thanks first to my lord and secondly to you, whom I trust he has chosen to rule this my native county."¹³ Perhaps this means that Sir Thomas had been appointed Lord Lieutenant. White was one of four commissioned by Sir Thomas to take possession of the estates he had obtained—mostly from dissolved monasteries—in this county. Another one of this commission was Thomas Knight, already a "servant" of Cromwell and later Secretary to Henry VIII and a clerk in Parliament. They gave an interesting

¹¹ *Letters & Papers*, Henry VIII. Vol. VII. No. 1461. He is probably the White mentioned by the Abbot of Bruton in a letter of the previous January, as reporting to Lady Lisle evil tales of the Abbot.

¹² *Ibid.*, VIII. No. 1089. This is endorsed "John Whit prothonotary of Hampshire" and signed with an elaborate cypher. He may have studied law during the seven years he spent at Heston and Hounslow [see below]. Havant, Drayton, and Southwyke, which he held, were close together; Lisle held land at the two latter places and in Titchfield; White's first wife was from Drayton; Wroithesley held Titchfield Abbey; therefore all three men were in close contact. There was a "Mr. Whyte of London, a learned man," who pronounced a deed a forgery, and also a famous Serjeant Whyte; these were perhaps our John White.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XIII. part ii. No. 1270.

account of their transfer of the monastic property; when the commission was translated into English for the tenants' benefit and it was explained that the King had made them tenants of Sir Thomas, they expressed a wish that it had been done seven years before! When they were called upon to deliver up their leases for renewal under the new master, there was no "slacking" in accepting Wroithesley's seal.¹⁴

"Servant" in this case does not mean a menial—White's position was at this time something like estate agent for a nobleman. His social standing was such that he married into a county family—his first wife, whom he married early in 1538, was the daughter of William Pound, a gentleman of importance in Southwyke; her uncle, John Pound, Somerset Herald, was sent by Henry VIII with a message to the King of Scotland in 1542, and was "basely slain in his tabard" near Dunbar¹⁵; his wife was a sister of Wroithesley. A half-sister of Wroithesley, Helen Beverley,¹⁶ had married Katherine White's half-brother. Although so closely connected with Sir Thomas, White has been stigmatised by one writer as Wroithesley's "unscrupulous servant," and as his "mean, fawning servant," conveying the impression that he held a menial position, the writer basing her charge, apparently, on letters written in 1537-8 by White in the style of the period.¹⁷ True, we read in White's will, "calling to my remembrance the beginning of my poore estate and the great guyfts and benyfytes giuen vnto me most unworthily of the mere and onlie goodnes of Almighty God and that I am in no wise able to deserve the least part thereof," yet this expression of humility on his deathbed implies no more than a recognition that he rose from comparatively low estate to a high position in the world.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 151.

¹⁵ *Notes & Queries*, 10th Series, IV. p. 472. The Pounds married into the Uvedale family; Katherine's first husband was her step-mother's son by a previous marriage, Richard Benger; his aunt, Dorothy Troyes, married first Sir William Uvedale and secondly Lord Edmund Howard, father of Queen Katherine Howard.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

¹⁷ *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, III. p. 162.

His rise was truly rapid. In 1538 he obtained part of the dissolved Priory of Southwyke,¹⁸ and in the same year was instructed with "all gentlemen and neighbours" in Hampshire to keep a vigilant eye to repress any stirring that may arise,"¹⁹ i.e. in connexion with the Marquis of Exeter's anticipated insurrection. With John Chaderton he had charge of the Marchioness of Salisbury, Exeter's mother, and had instruction to discover her complicity in the plot. In 1543, as "the King's servant,"²⁰ he was granted the confiscated lands of Hugh Holland, and was also ordered, as "Mr. Whight of Southwyke," with the Bishop of Chichester, the Mayor of the same, and Mr. Knight, to "try out the author of a seditious bill, found in the open field beside Chichester,"²¹ and, in 1544, he was one of the Purveyors of Hampshire to prepare for the "Invasion of France."

His position in the royal household, as we learn from his will, was that of "His Majesty's servant, sworne in the roome of a squier for his body," as early as 1537.

In 1538 a joint grant to Wroithesley and White was made of all the possessions of Southwyke Priory, and shortly after White obtained sole possession and thanked his patron that by the permission of God and by Wroithesley's help he had obtained what he had desired all his life, "an honest house to put my hed yn & to bydd my frends welcome," but he adds that it was with great difficulty that he obtained the furnishings, which were scanty, and Dr. Layton's servant, among other misdeeds, had removed many bacon-hogs hanging in the roof, and had trussed them in two great coffers, while he filled a third with books from the Priory, one alone having cost the Prior 40^{li}. Nor would the servants stay to gather the harvest. Wroithesley's share of the spoils included a suit of black velvet and a cape of cloth of tissue.

In the same letter White praises highly "Mistress Elyne," Helen Beverley, Wroithesley's half-sister, who about this time mar-

¹⁸ 15th March, 30 Henry VIII, see *Patent Rolls*.

¹⁹ *Letters & Papers*, Henry VIII. XIII. ii. No. 835.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XVII.

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 7763.

ried Katherine White's half-brother; not only could she dress handsomely and make fine manchettes, "which should be eten as haleyde brede," but she was in great demand at christenings. White prided himself because he had brought her into the county, as she had brought luck, for Mr. Wayte's wife had had nine or ten daughters but since had borne a son to whom Mistress Elyne and White himself stood godparents.²²

White pulled down many of the Priory buildings and erected a spacious mansion in the midst of a beautiful park; this he must have completed before the death of his first wife in 1548 as this inscription is in the great hall window:—

To thank God we are most bound,
John White and Catherine Pound.²³

As a county magnate he took prominent part in affairs, trimming his sails to the religious winds that blew under the Tudor sovereigns; in high favour with Henry VIII and Edward VI, he was granted land by Philip and Mary, and was still in great esteem in Elizabeth's day. His offices included those of Purveyor, Customer, Escheator of the County (1540), Sheriff of the County (1556), a commissioner concerning stay of ships, etc. In Mary's reign he was "seneschal" [steward] of Portsmouth, holding courts for the town.²⁴

Although the inscription on his tomb declares that he was the "fyrst owner of y^e priory and manor of Suthwike aft. y^e surrender and departing of y^e Chanons from the same," White was on friendly terms with the last prior, William Noxton, and appears to have done his best for the unfortunate persons ejected.

²² *Ibid.*, XIII, i. No. 748. "Haleyde brede" is hallowed bread.

²³ It was a house grand enough for the entertainment of royalty—Charles I was a guest of White's great-granddaughter, Honor, wife of Sir Daniel Norton, when news reached him of the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth.

²⁴ I am indebted to Mr. H. T. Lilley of Portsmouth for many notes on White's connexion with that place.

His will, supplemented by full instructions for the disposition of his estate, is of great length, covering many folio pages and with his arms impaling those of his wife, Katherine Pound, neatly emblazoned in the margin of the Somerset House transcript—an honour not usual. He left money to the poor of many Hampshire parishes as well as to those of Heston and Hounslow in Middlesex “emonges whom I did dwell 7 yeares;” his instructions for distributing these legacies mingled Popish and Protestant customs curiously: the incumbent and churchwardens of each parish were to assemble the recipients in the church on the day of his burial or within a month thereof, unless the poor people were “let by the visitation of God;” before the distribution they should be asked of their charity to repeat the Lord’s Prayer and the “Articles of our Faith,” desiring God for his son Jesus Christ’s sake to take to his “Tuycon and marcie” all Christian souls departed in the true faith from the beginning of the world to that day. A certain sum was to be distributed to the “Children of the College of St. Mary at Winchester” by the Warden and Schoolmaster, and when they had “occasion to be occupied in godellie prayers” they were asked to repeat the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed and to desire God “of his infynyte marcie and goodnes to graunt me pardon for my offences” and to pray for departed Christians.

At his burial a learned man was to preach a sermon, after which a feast was to be held at Southwyke of the best cheer his son could provide, to which should be bidden sixteen of the gentry and their wives, their names being given.²⁵ Each gentleman was to receive an English crown wherewith to buy a pair of gloves and was asked to bear the same good will to those left at Southwyke as had been borne to him. His successors were warned to maintain such hospitality and charity as he had done, certain tithes being allotted for this and for the upkeep of the house. Finally, he prayed God to

²⁵Among those named were:—Lady Lawrence, Mr. William Uvedale, Mr. Peter Tichborne, the testator’s brother-in-law, Henslow, his sister-in-law, Pound, his brother-in-law, Francis Robins, Mr. William Bowyer, Mr. Byckeley and Mr. Anthony Coope, most of them being members of “county families.”

take from them the estate if they failed in this duty. They were enjoined to keep in remembrance the 7th of April annually, as the Priory had been surrendered to him on that day, being Passion Sunday, and on that Sunday they were to distribute alms in specified churches "after the sermon finished." Besides generous legacies to his household, he left to the Earl of Leicester the best colt bred from the horse and mare the Earl had given him, and the second best to Sir William Cecil, her Majesty's Secretary, praying him to favour the testator's son in the Court of Wards and Liveries.

One of the overseers was his "Cosen doctor Whyte, Warden of New College in Oxford,"—an important statement as it proves the relationship between the Southwyke family and John White of Dorchester.

John White of Southwyke died on 19th July, 1567, and was buried in the church of St. James, just outside the Priory gates, in the vault "under the marble tomb I made," beside his late loving wives, Katherine and Anne. Enough black cloth was to be bought to cover the tomb "to the ground at thendes and both sides," upon which was to be placed a "faire white lynnne Crosse." The cloth at the end of a year was to be given "to some poore mann or more to make them cootes yf yt will serve for that purpose." His arms were to be made in the best manner on the advice of an herald, with "such pendentas as may be lawful for me to have."

The marble tomb still exists in the church he restored about a year before his death;²⁶ the slab appears to have belonged to an ancient altar-tomb, altered to meet his requirements; brasses of his five sons occupy the place of the six sons of its former owner, while his four daughters are crowded into the indents for three; nor does the inscription fit; it commemorates himself and his first wife, ending in an unusual manner:—"whose souls Crist take to his mercy Amen." His second wife was commemorated by a brass formerly on the wall of the church. His third wife,²⁷ widow of George

²⁶ See *A Palimpsest Brass* quoted above p. 5.

²⁷ His third wife was Isabel, daughter of Richard Norton of East Tisted. His first wife was the mother of all his children; his daughter Anne married

Dabrichcourt, according to his will was to return to her son's house at Strathfieldsaye; he had strictly enjoined the three sons and three daughters surviving to treat their step-mother well, as she had been so good to them.

It is evident that John White of Southwyke made a name in the world and left memorials behind him—a spacious mansion, a marble tomb, and a family; yet in a brief space Southwyke passed to the Norton family, into which he and his had married. Perhaps the curse for lack of hospitality fell upon it. His grandson, John, survived him just thirty years and left three daughters, coheir-esses; Honor married Sir Daniel Norton and was the mother of “Idle Dick Norton,” Oliver Cromwell's friend, and of Honor, who married John Eliot, the Patriot, under curious circumstances.

The family that John White had founded and endowed with the spoils of an ancient religious house passed into oblivion, like many others built on a similar foundation.²⁸ But another branch from the old stock flourished and bore sound fruit. The kinship is recorded by John White of Dorchester in the pedigree he drew up:—“discended of a younger brother of White of Southwicke, co. Hampshire,”²⁹ and although the exact connexion has not yet been traced, there is good reason to believe that the Patriarch's ancestor, Mark White, was uncle of John White of Southwyke.³⁰

Richard Norton and had children, Anthony and Isabel. His great-granddaughter married Sir Daniel Norton.

²⁸ See Sir Henry Spelman in *History and the Fate of Sacrilege*.

²⁹ Harleian MS. 1544, f. 223d [British Museum].

³⁰ See Appendix I.

CHAPTER II

THE WHITES OF TIMSBURY AND STANTON ST. JOHN

"The special qualities of the Test . . . are its broad valley, the chalk cliffs which border it, the swing and rush and depth of the river, and its strong, clear volume."

J. A. HILLS.

THE Valley of the Test commands the admiration of the angler and the artist; it possesses also a fascination for the antiquary. The river winds through broad green meadows, passing on its way an ancient earthwork, "King John's Palace,"¹ John of Gaunt's Deer Park, as well as scattered villages, picturesquely clustering around churches which retain many Saxon characteristics; as the student pores over the leaves of the early Court Rolls he finds uncouth words, strange customs, and unusual payments, carrying him back to days before the Conquest, while in a district which for generations has lacked masses of timber, he finds he is in the Old Forest, as contrasted with the New Forest of the Conqueror's planting, where customs and privileges of the Forest long remained in force. He feels himself in an Old World indeed.

John White in his pedigree gives Timsbury in this valley as his ancestral home, and from the Court Rolls of the Hundred of King's Somborne we learn that his great-grandfather, Marcus White, resided here in 1498. He held of the Nunnaminster, i. e. St. Mary at Winchester, a messuage, three virgates of land, and a virgate bi-

¹ This is a house in the village of Stockbridge but it is a misnomer, a confusion with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; most of this district belonged to the Duchy.

partite, a snug farm of seventy acres with rights of common and other privileges. The Subsidy Roll of 1522 shows him to have been the wealthiest inhabitant. In 1519 his son John held, by copy of court roll, a virgate bi-partite,² probably the other half of his father's divided virgate, and we may assume that he was of full age. There is reason to believe that Marcus somewhere about this date moved to Leckford,³ where he died. By his will, dated 27th March, 1530,⁴ he desired to be buried at Timsbury and left money to the poor there and for an honest priest to sing for his soul for a year and a half, as well as to the poor of neighbouring churches; he bequeathed 6s 8d for the "Kawsye betwixt Stockbridge and Little Bridge," which lay between his two places of residence.

After the death of Marcus White his son John obtained all his father's holding in Timsbury, and appears somewhat later in his father's place at the head of the Subsidy Roll. The parish registers contain the names of his children and record the burial of his wife Mildred in 1567; presumably her maiden name was Weston.⁵ John White himself was buried on 1st February, 1580.⁶ In his

² He succeeded Thomas Cryps; possibly Marcus had married a Cryps and as dower received the half virgate, and on the death of her brother (?) the other half passed to her son.

³ If John White of Leckford, whose will was proved in or before 1518, were his father, his change of residence would be explained, but he may have married as his second wife a Leckford woman; his younger children Edith and Thomas, the latter being some sixteen years John's junior, are not mentioned in his will but Thomas entered New College as from Leckford.

⁴ Will in Probate Court, Winchester, dated 27th March, 1530; his son received his lands at the first Court thereafter, on 9th May, so he died between those dates. In the lists he is styled "of Timsbury" in one case, "of Leckford" in the other. See Appendix I.

⁵ The present registers are transcripts of earlier ones, details are omitted, but as there is no daughter Mildred and the date seems appropriate, coming after the last entry of their children's baptisms, it is reasonable to assume that this was John's wife. The Patriarch says his grandmother was "... daughter of ... Weston of Co. ..." There seems to have been a connexion between the Whites and the Westons of Roxwell, Essex.

⁶ The baptisms and marriages of several of their children are entered in the parish registers. I am indebted to W. J. Andrew, Esq., F.S.A., for many notes on this and other Timsbury matters. The Court Rolls are in Harleian Roll, L. 21/24.

will, dated the previous 28th January, he mentions five daughters by name, two sons, John and Walter, and several grandchildren.⁷

John White of Timsbury had a brother, or a half-brother, Dr. Thomas White, who was educated at New College and rose to an eminent position. He held several college livings at different times, obtained his doctor's degree in 1553 and was appointed Warden of New College. He was suspected of favouring the Old Faith but continued in office under Elizabeth; when she visited Oxford he was one of those who held a canopy over her head on her entry into the Cathedral. He was to have taken part in a "disputation" before her, but the Moderator, thinking to please her Majesty, would have "cut off Dr. White of New College," but "the Queen liked him so well that she willed him by all means to go forward."⁸

New College was considered a "nest of crypto-Papists," so it is not surprising that Warden White fell under suspicion; serious charges, including immorality and peculation, were brought against him at the Bishop's Visitation in 1566,⁹ but while admitting some of the minor ones he must have cleared himself of the serious charges as he retained his wardenship until he resigned it in 1573. Meanwhile, he had been appointed, in 1571, Chancellor of Sarum, and, dying on 11th June, 1588, was buried in Salisbury Cathedral, where a long Latin inscription records his virtues. In his will¹⁰ he mentions many nephews and nieces, including all the children of his brother John White of Timsbury, except the eldest, John, for whom he had already made generous provision.¹¹

⁷ In Archdeaconry Court of Winchester.

⁸ Wood, *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, II. p. 156.

⁹ Some of his offences were curious—that his servants were "Rybaldes and Roysterers who keepeth hounds within the Colledge whoping and hallowing and blowing their hornes within the precincts of the Colledge," and that he had called certain men "fools, pack-makers and cockscombs," had threatened to make another a beggar and said to one that "yf I had such a conscience, I wold hang yt on the hedge until the winds blew through yt." Rait, *New College*, p. 120. The whole description gives an interesting glimpse of life at the College in the Warden's time.

¹⁰ P. C. C. 41 Rutland.

¹¹ No doubt concerning the kinship of Warden White and John of Timsbury

Among the charges against Warden White, in 1566, was that of alienating College property, and of allowing his friends to obtain College copyholds for nothing; there appear to have been grounds, at least, for accusing him of nepotism, for among other things his nephew, John White, in 1561, was granted a lease of "the suit and the demesne lands of the manor of Stanton St. John," a College estate. The living of this parish was held, according to custom, by the Warden of New College *pro tempore*, so at times Dr. White would have lived in the old rectory, now destroyed, which stood immediately south of the church.

Stanton St. John lies about five miles from Oxford and adjoins Headington on the London Road. Its church is an exceptionally beautiful and interesting building, part of which dates from the time of Edward I; the East window is remarkable for its tracery, and the other chancel windows for their corbels, but its most striking feature is the bench ends, each surmounted by two heads placed back to back.

In the picturesque village surrounding the church are two ancient grey stone houses possessing Tudor characteristics; one of these has been known from time immemorial as the Manor Farm House and still retains many indications of its ancient use and dignity. At some period the earlier building, quite possibly in Warden White's day, had added to it two wings, giving it the "E" shape of Elizabethan times; in comparatively recent years the eastern wing was pulled down, but the western contains some fine oak panelling, carved in the Jacobean style. In the older portion are architectural features suggestive of the existence of a chapel.

It would have been to this official residence that the "fermar," who also acted as Bailiff and Minister for the College, brought his wife, Isabel, daughter of John Bawle of Lichfield, and here would have been born their three sons and four daughters. Here, there

can exist in the face of the fact that when Avys, daughter of John White of Timsbury, married Simon Perot of Oxford, the guarantors of the bond for her marriage settlement were John White of Stanton St. John, her brother, and Thomas White, Warden of New College, her uncle.

is reason to believe, both parents died, and here Steven, the youngest son, succeeding to his father's official positions, lived until his death.¹²

Another resident in the parish was Richard Milton, father of the Poet; both he and John White were summoned in 1582 to the Archdeacon's Court at Oxford for contumacy. Milton the elder was fined at a later date as a recusant, and we are told that when his son John announced his conversion to Protestantism his father disinherited him. John White does not appear among the recusants but it is possible that, like his uncle, he was inclined that way.

In his will, dated 1616 but not proved until 1618, John White mentions his children and his sisters, Alice and Avys.¹³

¹² Isabel was living in 1601, when she joined with her husband in surrendering a tenement called *Graies*, the reversion of which had been granted to their son John. Her brother, Dr. Henry Bawle, of New College, was Canon, Precentor, and Archdeacon of Chichester. Among the executors of her husband was John Ball, who with the other two, Matthias Nicholls and Henry Whitfield, were intimate friends of the Patriarch.

¹³ See Appendix I.

CHAPTER III

STUDENT LIFE

"The grave Divine . . . knows the burden of his calling, and hath studied to make his shoulders sufficient, for which he hath not been hasty to launch forth of his port, the University, but expected the ballast of learning and the wind of opportunity. Divinity is the beginning, not the end of his studies . . . The ministry is his choice, not his refuge."

BISHOP JOHN EARLE.

IN the time of Christmas," 1575, the second son of John and Isabel White was born at Stanton St. John and at the feast of the Epiphany was christened John.¹ At the early age of eight he and his elder brother Josias were entered at Hart Hall,² Oxford, and he proceeded to Winchester College of which as a native of Stanton St. John he had the privilege of becoming a scholar, and there he found many kinsfolk bearing his own name.

Thence, in the ordinary course, he proceeded to New College, Oxford, in 1593, taking his master's degree in 1600/1.³ Wood points out that during this period the conversions to the ancient faith were so numerous that the authorities took steps to put a stop to them though, for his part, he considered that a stricter eye should have been kept upon the Puritans. New College had already attracted Laud's attention because of its Puritanism, due, he considered, to the prevalence of the study of Calvin's Institutes,⁴ so it

¹ Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, II. 235.

² The "Halls" at Oxford at this period were like the preparatory schools of to-day where pupils are fitted to enter Winchester, Eton, Harrow, etc.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *History of the Chancellorship of Oxford* [1853 ed.], p. 117.

is not surprising to find that White's thoughts had been strongly influenced while he was still at the University. He remained in residence as Fellow at New College until 1606 during which time events of considerable importance to Puritanism took place. Great hopes had been raised by the accession of James, bred in the strictness prevailing in Scotland—the Hampton Court Conference they considered the promise of good things and there was a general anticipation of better times for their cause,—which were doomed to disappointment. One matter, the new translation of the Bible, would have had a particular interest for White; two Fellows of his college were among those appointed to undertake this task—one of them, John Harmar, had been *informator* [schoolmaster] at Winchester in White's time there so our student must have been well informed concerning it; whether he approved of the result is open to question as we find it was not until eleven years after its issue that White, then at Dorchester, exchanged the "Old Bible" for a new one, nor do we find that he used it when making quotations but rather appears to have himself translated what he required.

While at the University he associated, we gather, with men of marked Puritanical opinions; his own brother-in-law, John Burges, though a pupil of Thomas Cartwright did not accept the extreme views of his master—he held that the Ceremonies "however they seem to us inconvenient in some respects; yet are not unlawful but such as a man (not imprisoned with prejudice) may with good conscience observe as matters of external order, imposed by lawful authority,"⁵ and he left it to his congregation at St. Peter's Hungate, Norwich, to decide whether he should remain if he wore a surplice; their disapproval led him to resign his living; on the other hand he gave offence to the King when he expounded his views on Ceremonies before him, but after a brief imprisonment he was released and eventually went to Holland where he devoted himself to the study of medicine; during his residence there he must have been in contact with the Separatists with whom he does not appear to have been in sympathy; after success as a physician

⁵ *The Lawfulness of Kneeling*, etc., p. 110.

in court circles in London, to which he returned, he obtained the living of Sutton Coldfield—with which his family had already been associated,—and there died much esteemed and undisturbed by those in authority, in 1635.

Another associate of White in his early days was John Ball, probably a kinsman, who was noted for his acquaintance with the works of Bellarmine. He was strongly influenced by Puritans of the severe school so that he was ordained by an Irish bishop in order to avoid signing the Articles. He was keenly interested in the opinions of the exiles in Holland and New England but disapproved of the views of the Separatists. He disputed with Cotton and others and his “Trial of the New Church Way in New England and Old,” when sent to Winthrop roused a storm of anger, and a reply, very vigorous though unsatisfactory, was composed in Boston. His “Treatise on Faith,” it will be seen, was used as a catechism by White in Dorchester. Ball “never utterly condemned any use of our Common Prayer Book, nor allowed Separatism because of some abuses,”⁶ and therein White agreed with him.

Richard Bernard, another friend of White, held much the same opinions as Ball and wrote against the “New England Church Way” with equal vigour. He had held the living of Worksop, not far from Scrooby, and is said to have been in such sympathy with the Leyden exiles that he prepared a Covenant similar to theirs but for a voluntary, not compulsory, acceptance. He was accused of falling from grace because he failed to keep this and was denounced as a traitor. He retired to Batcombe, Somerset, where he wrote controversial tracts some of which he sent to White.⁷ His system for the instruction of his parishioners, described in a letter to Archbishop Usher, strongly resembled that adopted by White at Dorchester.

John Conant, an intimate friend of Bernard and associated with White in the New England ventures,⁸ was of the same school of

⁶ Ball, *Answer to Two Treatises by John Can.*

⁷ See below.

⁸ See Appendix III.

thought; he was highly esteemed by the Puritans, being appointed Rector of Exeter College and a member of the Assembly of Divines.

Dr. Twisse, a contemporary of White at Winchester and New College, was also of the "moderate Puritan" party, and was closely associated with the Palatinate and the "Reform" movement there in which White was deeply interested. He also disapproved of the trend of opinion in New England and wrote to controvert Cotton's ideas concerning the "Grace of God," but being a friend of that eminent minister he dealt gently with him. He was interested in the conversion of the Indians and consulted the famous Joseph Mede on the subject; he must have been reassured by the reply that even if none were converted it was well to "affront the Devil" in a place where he held supreme sway. He was in contact with White at several points and he wrote to Archbishop Usher commending White to his attention.⁹

Those above-named, as our story will show, held opinions on religious questions kindred to those White appears to have adopted before leaving the University, but he was in the ordinary course of events associated with others who had leanings towards Separatism, or at least Presbyterianism, whose influence upon him became evident at a later date; he was, for instance, on intimate terms with Stoughton, whose brothers and step-son emigrated to New England, and who, like White himself, contemplated following their example. Stoughton had been a neighbour of White and they were associated together in the matter of "the Children's portion," as will be seen, but it is not apparent that their religious opinions were of the same sort.

A minister of much more advanced views was Cornelius Burgess who married a daughter of John Burges, White's brother-in-law, and therefore they were to some extent associated at an early date; but it is difficult to imagine White approving of the manners and methods of this prominent minister.

Among the lesser lights at New College with him, who were, at least at first, kindred spirits, were Matthias and Ferdinando

⁹ *Letter*, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 65, f. 83.

Nicols: the former will be found at Plymouth associated with White at the time of the departure of the emigrants who settled at Dorchester in New England; the latter, Ferdinando, once an assistant of White at Dorchester, advanced to a form of Puritanism of a more violent character than White ever adopted—indeed the Patriarch was such a “moderate Puritan” that he found in his neighbour at Broadwindsor, the broad-minded Church Historian Fuller, a kindred spirit, and in spite of divergent views their friendship seems to have been of a warm and enduring character; in common they possessed a “holy facetiousness” and we can imagine that they would have had a hearty laugh, had it been possible, over the posthumous description of Fuller by an anonymous biographer, as “a good friend and neighbour, and a well-behaved and civilized person in every respect.”

On the principle of judging a man by his associates we may conclude from the company White is known to have kept that he was broad-minded, tolerant of the views of others, while himself inclined to hold moderate opinions, which as time passed and events changed the aspect of things, were to some extent modified, though at no time do we find him numbered among the extremists; “an old-fashioned Puritan” may well have been a term applied to him by the advanced—perhaps they might be styled the more bigoted—ministers of his later days.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY DAYS AT DORCHESTER

"I have observed that towns which have been casually burnt have been built again more beautiful than before; Mud walls afterwards made of stone; and roofs, formerly but thatched, after advanced to be tiled."

THOMAS FULLER.

ON the 11th November, 1605, "Johannes White, clericus et in artibus magister," was presented by the King to the Rectory of Trinity, Dorchester, on the death of the last incumbent,¹ and in the following year he took up his duties there.

It was probably towards the close of the year 1606 that he married Anne, daughter of John Burges of Peterborough and the sister of Dr. John Burges who became rector of Sutton Coldfield; it should be here noted that it has frequently been asserted that she was the sister of Cornelius Burgess, who was the son of Robert Burgess of Stanton Drew, Somerset, but he married Abigail, daughter of Dr. John Burges of Sutton Coldfield, therefore niece of Anne White.²

The eldest son of John and Anne White was baptised John on 27th December, 1607, at Stockton, Wilts, of which parish White's brother-in-law, John Terry, was rector.³

¹ *Patent Roll*, 3 James I. pt. ii. The original record of institutions is lost, but 1606 is given in a list. It was customary for a Fellow to retain his post for a year after appointment to a living; Nicholas Taylor was admitted White's successor on 22nd August, 1606.

² The marriage of Cornelius Burgess to Abigail, daughter of John Burges, is known from a record on a chalice belonging to the church of Sutton Coldfield.

³ *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, XVII. 138. John Terry married Mary, sister of John White.

According to Hutchins the parish of Holy Trinity, Dorchester, had been since 1303 united with that of St. Peter,⁴ and together they included about two-thirds of the area enclosed within the Roman walls; the space inside these walls was so divided into parishes that Holy Trinity formed the western portion, St. Peter's the middle, and All Saints' the eastern portion; by a strange arrangement the three church buildings are almost within a stone's throw of each other; St. Peter's near the centre of the middle strip and the other two churches close to the western and eastern bounds of that parish; they are all in a line, upon the main thoroughfare.

Before John White began his ministry in the combined parishes, the town possessed anything but a pious and estimable reputation, but under the influence of the young man, fresh from the University, where he had developed very strong ideas on religious subjects, an improvement was soon manifested.

Not many years elapsed before circumstances, in the shape of a great catastrophe, gave him an opening in which he showed his devotion to the people; he was able to turn the misfortune to their advantage.

On 6th August, 1613, a fearful fire devastated Dorchester. A vivid description of the occurrence was written immediately after the event by an eye-witness. He describes "a sodaine calamity late befallne upon the towne of Dorchester in the West of England; the heauy newes whereof, euen strikes trembling hearts of people, that so famous a towne, and the onely storehouse of those parts for Marchantly commodities should in lesse then foure and twentie houres be ruinated by this great commaunding element, consuming fier.

"Dorchester (as it is well knowne) is one of the principall places of traffick for westernne marchants, by which meanes it grew rich and populous, beautified with many stately buildings, and faire streetes, flourishing full of all sorts of tradesmen and artificers, plenty with abondance reuelled in her boasom, maintained with a wise and

⁴ *History of Dorset*, II. p. 385.

ciuill government, to the well deseruing commendation of the inhabitants: but now marke how their golden fortunes faded, and their cheere-full sunne of prosperitie, eclipsed with the black vae of mournfull aduersitie: for upon the sixt of August last, being Friday, this then flourishing Towne of Dorchester, about the mid-day flourisht in her greatest state, but before three of the clocke in the afternoone, she was covered with a garment of redde flaming fier, and all their Iollity turned into lamentation.

“This Instrument of Gods wrath began first to take hold in a Trades-mans worke-house: for a Tallow Chandler there dwelling, making too great a fier under his kettle or leade, tooke holde upon the melted and boyling tallow in such violent manner, that without resistance it fiered the worke-house, and immediately one roome after another, till the Chandlers whole dwelling was all on a light burning flame.

“Then began the cry of fier to be spread through the whole Towne: man, woman and childe, ran amazedly vp and downe the streetes, calling for water, water; so fearefully, as if deaths trumpet had sounded a command of present destruction. Many were the affrights of the inhabitants; amongst which next unto the Chandlers house (then all on a fier flaming) was a Ware-house of Gun-powder filled into barrells belonging to a marchant of the towne, which to preserve they much aduentured, and with wet sheets and other linnen, saued the house from burning till they had caried the poulder safe into the fieldes, otherwise taking fier it had been sufficient, with one blast to have blowne vp a whole towne, with all the inhabitants therein remaining, but God be praised, it was preserued, and not one liuing creature therein perished.

“The fier as I said before, begun betweene the houres of two and three in the afternoone, the winde blowing very strong, & increased so mightily, that in very short space, the most part of the towne was fiered which burned so extremely, the weather being hot and the houses drie, that helpe of man grew almost past, but yet as in such extremities, people will shew their endeaours, so these amazed towns-men striued to succor one another, but to small pur-

pose, for the tyranous fier had taken too great a head, and likewise there was too much want of water.

“The reason the fier at the first preuailed above the strength of man, was, that it unfortunately hapned in the time of harvest, when people were much busied in reaping of their Corne, and the Towne most emptyest: but when this burning Beacon of ruyne, gaue the harvest-men light into the feild, little booted it them to stay, but in more than reasonable hast, posted they homeward not onely for the safeguard of their goods and houses, but for the preservation of their wiues and children, more dearer then all temporall estate or worldly aboundance.

“In like manner, the inhabitants of the neighbouring townes & villages at the fearful sight red blazing eliment, ran in multitudes to assist them, proffering the deare aduenture of their liues to oppresse the rigour of the fier if possible it might be, but all too late they came, and to small purpose, shewed they their willing mindes, for almost euery streete was filled with flame, euery house couered with the robe of destruction, euery place borning beyond helpe and recovery, their might they in wofull manner behold marchants Warehouses full of richest commodities, being shops of silkes and veluets on a flaming fier, garners of breade Corne consuming, multitudes of Linnen and Wollen clothes burned into ashes, Gold and Silver melted, and Brasse Pewter and Copper, Tronkes and Chestes of Damaskes and fine Linnens with all manner of rich Stuffles made fewell to increase this vniuerse sole conquerour, which leueled and made wast of all things it laid hold of, the fiercenes of the fier was such that it euen burnet and scorcht trees as they grew, and conuerted their greene liueries into blacke burned Garments, not so much as Hearbes and Flowers flourishing in Gardayns but were in a moment withered with the heate of the fier, many liuing creatures as house, Sume, pollayne⁵ and such like at this wofull time were consumed into ashes to the great greife of the beholders, was it not a sorrow for a trades-man to see all his estate, burning at one instant, which he had laboured for twenty years before,

⁵ ? Horse, swine, and poultry.

was it not a sorrow for a man to rise rich in the morning, and to be brought unto pouerty before night, and was it not a sorrow for parents, to see the portion of their children thus consumed, oh greife vpon greife; When this burning inuader comes, he shewes no pitty, he spareth neither rich nor poore: the rich he makes poore, and the poore most miserable. Dorchester was a famous Towne, now a heape of ashes for trauellers that passe by to sigh at: oh Dorchester wel maist thou mourne for those thy great losses: for neuer had English Towne the like unto thee: the valew by the Judgement of the inhabitantes, without partiality, is reckoned to come to two hundred thousand pounds, besides wel neere three hundred houses, all ruynated & burned to the ground: only a few dwelling houses that stand about the Church was saved, and withall the Church by Gods providence preserued for people therein to magnifie his name: All the rest of the towne was consumed and conuerted into a heape of ashes: a loss so unrecoverable, that vnlesse the whole land in pitty set to their deuotions, it is like neuer to reobtaine the former estate, but continue like ruinated Troy, or decayed Carthage, God in his mercy raise the inhabitants vp againe, and grant that by the mischance of this Towne, both us, they, and all others may repent vs of our sins. Amen.”⁶

It is quite possible that John White himself wrote this account in order to interest outsiders and to raise funds required to restore prosperity. Although no briefs for this fire have been found, there is every reason to believe that such may have been issued. The King, on 12th November, 1613, by sign manual, authorized Matthew Chubb, the Dorchester goldsmith, to advance 1000^{li} for the rebuilding of the town, and to deduct that sum from the next subsidy.⁷

During this great and lamentable fire, prisoners in the gaol were “enlarged to help the same, wherein they did very good service and afterwards returned to gaol.” Later a commission was appointed

⁶ *The Lamentable & Fearefull burning of the towne of Dorchester*, appended to *Fire from Heaven*. [British Museum Tract, c. 27 b. 36.]

⁷ *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. III. No. 81.

to investigate debtor prisoners, who had been so well behaved,⁸ with the result that five were pardoned "in consideration of their help in quenching the fire."⁹

The number of dwelling houses burnt on this occasion was one hundred and seventy—of these fifty-nine were in Trinity parish, thirty-three in St. Peter's, and seventy-eight in All Saints'; their value was placed at 39,384^{li}.¹⁰

The memory of this fire was still fresh some twenty years later when witnesses made depositions concerning the lamentable fire, or "the great and fearful fire." The rebuilding does not appear to have proceeded rapidly—on certain property in dispute, in Darnel Lane, a private house was "unre-edified" six months later though a stable had been erected, but at the end of a year the house had been rebuilt. Blachford, its owner, having obtained an advantageous renewal of his tenement from Sir John and Dame Eleanor Williams, leased it to Robert Short, who "made it a house to entertayne gesse" called the King's Arms.¹¹

But in time the pious aspiration at the end of the pamphlet was wonderfully fulfilled, the town rising from its ashes to something like its former prosperity; but only nine years later, 30th January, 1622/3, another conflagration occurred, though not of quite so serious a character; the estimated loss was 3,500^{li} and the houses burnt, thirty.¹² On this occasion briefs were issued for the relief of the sufferers and some 400^{li} obtained, which by private subscriptions was raised to 555^{li}.¹³

⁸ *Court of Requests Proceedings*, Bdle. 50.

⁹ *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. IV. No. 32. (16th July, 1614). Thomas Fry of Little Briddy, gent, imprisoned for debt incurred on behalf of his sister's children, was not so lucky; his brother Roger could neither read nor write so could not find the bond which would have cleared him and obtained his release; it may have been burnt. See *Court of Requests* as above.

¹⁰ Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, II. p. 340.

¹¹ *Chancery Depositions*, 604/246, 7th June, 1632.

¹² Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 58.

¹³ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 538. The accounts are headed "Emanuel: The 30th daye of Januarie, 1622." Several counties contributed, Dorset giving £65.13.07, *ob*, the largest sum; Devon contributing £47.07.00.

It became White's custom to hold services annually on 6th August and 5th November "in remembrance of the Fire and Gunpowder Treason" when a general collection was made—between 1617 and 1623 the sums received varied from 27^{li} to 49^{li},¹⁴—but this custom ceased in 1634, Whiteway recording in August of that year that White "left off celebrating of the Anniversary of the great fire which happened anno 1613."¹⁵ The following year, as will be seen, the funds in hand, not being required for sufferers by the fire, were partly used to pay for repairs of the School property.

Not satisfied merely with the relief of the necessities of the town and people, immediately after the first calamity White saw and seized the opportunity to press forward a greater work. His eight years' residence had seen some reforms, but now this visitation from on high was turned to good account and their present affliction became a source of permanent benefit. In their ready response to his suggestion we see the first fruits of his labours amongst them, and evidence of the manner in which he was able to wind up his parishioners to any pitch he liked.

In his introduction to the *Tree of Life*, written in 1647, White reminds his people of the course of events. "Give me leave to lay before you a precedent of your owne. About 34 years since, the Lord sent upon the towne a fearful fire which consumed the best part of it, the losse at an under value amounting to more than fourty thousand pounds. What fell out there upon? There met together about seven or eight well affected persons and agreed to contribute money, and annuities out of their Lands, the sum of eight hundred pounds for the erecting of a Hospitall, for the setting of poore children on worke: The whole Towne consented to double their weekly rates for the reliefe of the poore, enlarged their Churches, and reduced the towne into order by good government: What gained they by all this? within the compasse of six or seaven yeares, God so poured his blessings upon the place, that it was in

¹⁴ Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 398.

¹⁵ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 210.

that short space in better condition then it had been before that calamity fell upon them."

He modestly refrains from mentioning the part he himself took but it was recorded in the Borough documents:—"Memorandum. It is not unfit to be observed that before the former great fire above mentioned, little or no money was given to any charitable uses for a long season. Men lay frozen in their dregs, until it pleased God to awaken them by this fiery trial, in burning of their [stubble] and drosse; But when they saw by this sudden blast such great buildings burned into heaps of stone, into dust and ashes even in a moment; and being then seasonably admonished to set our hearts upon the true treasure that shall not perish, and thereby opened unto us the fading quality of all those outward things, how little they profit us in time of need; and withal beholding the great miseries of many families that were in an instant harbourless; many mens bowels began to yearn in compassion towards them, studying how to do some good work for the reliefe of the poor, as also to sanctify the remainder of their estates to the Lord: whereupon many of us, assisted with our faithful pastor, had many meetings; and after consultation, large offers were made towards the setting up of a hospital or workhouse, and soon a house was purchased with a large plot of ground, and other buildings thereunto erected, and at last a brew house set up in the same plot, the profit thereof being wholly set apart for the maintenance of the said hospital or workhouse." To this memorandum is added a list of the names of donors to, or furtherers of, this noble work with the amount of their gifts.¹⁶

¹⁶ Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 341. He also states that the Hospital was founded about 1616 by voluntary gifts from persons "which it pleased God to stir up by the motion of Mr. White minister." The Goulds and Whiteways contributed generously; John White himself gave 10*li* and his brother Steven seems to have promised an annual contribution; Lady Browne of Frampton, as early as 1631/2, contributed 10*li* to employ the poor in work, and this was handed to the Governor of the Hospital so that, according to her request, her name might "remayne in record to posterity amongst many worthy benefactors."—Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 514.

Authority was obtained in 1617 for the establishment of "a hospital or working house" for "setting to work the poor children of the Borough" and thus to prevent begging and idleness which had been so long prevalent in Dorchester.¹⁷ The children were to be taught spinning and burling—*i.e.* the removal of "blacks" and knots from wool—by a fustian-weaver, who was also to instruct them in religion according to the "chaterchisme set forth by Mr. John Ball;" four verses were to be learned by them weekly; he was also to give the male children who deserved it "correction" while the matron was to deal similarly with the females;¹⁸ in fact it was a scheme for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the children.

The "Chaterchisme" mentioned was that by White's friend, and probably kinsman, John Ball of Whitmore, published in his *Treatise of Faith*. A few extracts from it will show the kind of religious instruction which received White's approval.

The Church is to be understood, not as the Pope, the Church virtual, or his Bishops and Cardinals in General Council, the Church Representative as the Papists call them, but as "the whole company of believers, who have professed the true faith," whether those who received the books of Holy Scripture, or those who lived after.

Faith is wrought in us "inwardly by the Spirit, outwardly by the preaching of the Word, and catechising," which latter should be understood as "a pure, plain, brief, and orderly, instruction of the people in the chief grounds of Christian religion." Angels and Saints departed do not present our prayers before God, for Christ only is Mediator and High Priest. Prayers cannot avail the dead, neither can a prayer for them be a work of faith, for commandment to do it, promise of good to come by it, or approved example to warrant it in Scripture, there is not any.

The five forged Sacraments of the Papists are not proper to the Church, or are not instituted of God, or consist not of an out-

¹⁷ Hutchins, *Dorset*, III. p. 397.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

ward visible sign and inward grace; the covenant of grace is not sealed in any of them.

The use of Wafer cake is justly blamed as superstitious by our Church; out of niggardlyness to mix water with wine savoureth of an ill mind.

The whole Sabbath is to be set apart from all common uses as holy to the Lord, both publicly and privately in the practice of the duties of necessity, holiness, and mercy, we should finish all our worldly business in six days, rise betimes in the morning of the Sabbath, prepare ourselves for the public congregation, by prayer, meditation, thanksgiving, and examination of our hearts, going about the works of mercy and instant necessity with heavenly minds. We must join with the people of God in the public congregation, hearing the Word read and preached, calling upon God's name, receiving the Sacraments, praising God for His mercies, singing the Psalms. In which exercises we must be all the while attentive, reverent, eager to get good, and not departing until the blessing is pronounced. The rest of the day is to be spent with delight and cheerfulness in religious meditation, reading and conference, and works of necessity and mercy.

The Seventh Commandment forbids idleness, newfangledness, lascivious pictures, impudency or lightness in countenance or behaviour, painting the face, and promiscuous dancing of men and women.

The Eighth forbids "all unapproved and unprofitable trades of life or callings, if they may be so termed, as jesters, jugglers, parasites, carders, dicers, gamesters, players, fortune-tellers, figure casters, sturdy rogues, and such as be makers of proper instruments of unlawful games."

We are reminded that the Pope's reign in England had but recently ended and that even the children had to unlearn many practices; the Puritan thought of the day is also indicated. Throughout White's writings we find echoes of the phrases employed.

The funds raised to support the Hospital before long exceeded

all requirements, so it was decided to use the surplus in the erection of a Brew House on land of the Hospital, for there had been complaints of the quality of the beer produced locally. An agreement to this end was made by the Corporation on 4th March, 1621/2,¹⁹ and the building was completed six months later. The venture proved profitable until the time of the Civil Wars when the stock was almost all lost and destroyed by the violence of the soldiers and by bad debts, so that but one hundred marks of it remained; the "sayd troubles" also caused the closing of the Hospital; after providing for the children, the small balance of their fund was spent for charitable uses.²⁰ A claim for losses sustained by the Brew House was made to the Dorset Standing Committee, appointed by Parliament to deal with local matters, resulting in a grant, on 5th January, 1646/7, of 100^{li} which had been "borrowed" from that fund during the wars, because of the great losses the Brew House had sustained by plundering.²¹

The fame of the Hospital scheme was not confined to the locality. The famous Sir Joshua Child, in his *Discourse on Trade*, issued in 1665, refers to its continued existence. He devised an elaborate scheme for dealing with the poor throughout the kingdom, to be managed by "Fathers of the Poor," wearing a distinctive uniform, and, meeting the objection that it would be better to erect work houses for poor children in each separate parish as at Dorchester, he wrote that with all good intentions the attempts on those lines had so far proved ineffectual, except "that single instance of the Town of Dorchester" which, unlike his scheme, dealt

¹⁹ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 525. Hutchins refers, II. p. 398, to the disposal of the surplus Hospital money, and says the profit "either by brewing or malting, goeth wholly to and for the maintenance of the hospital, and for the governor's wages, and his servants, and for the appareling and teaching of the said children that are kept on work therein, as by the books kept by the Steward appeareth." The late Rev. W. M. Barnes states that the Brew House stood on the west side of South Street.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 525. He notes that 230 quarters of malt were spent or spoiled by Goring's troops and 1000^{li} were lost in bad debts.

²¹ Mayo, *Dorset Standing Committee*, p. 135.

only with their own poor and whipped away all others; his foundation, "large, wise, honest and rich enough," would deal with all the poor without enquiring where they were born or last inhabited.²²

Such a notable undertaking for meeting local conditions was originated and successfully carried out by John White, and continued in operation for a considerable period, but it was not the only improvement in the condition of the town which he undertook.

²² *Op. cit.* [ed. 1674], p. 99. See also *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 233. No. 44, for proceedings for the relief of the poor in Dorchester.

CHAPTER V

LIFE AT DORCHESTER

"He is loved and feared of all, and his presence frights the swearer out of his oaths or into silence and he stains all other men's lives with the clearness of his own."

THOMAS FULLER.

WHEN the Hospital was well started, the educational requirements of the town occupied White's attention. A Free School had been long in existence, and the buildings erected in 1567¹ had suffered severely in the fire of 1613. These were rebuilt in 1618, during the mastership of Robert Cheeke, a member of the community who was almost as important as White; between them they ruled the town. Cheeke had been already in power some ten years when the new Rector arrived, and in 1617 he combined the duties of Schoolmaster with those of Rector of All Saints.² He was of White's way of thinking to judge from the

¹ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 563. Entries are given concerning the building of the Free School this year—a "bargen for making of a pynyon with iii chymes and the poynten tabell and one side wayle with xij lights and a stonemans doure." Thomas Hardy of Melcombe Regis, the supposed founder, probably endowed an existing establishment in 1579.

² He held the two positions until his death on 8th October, 1627. Whiteway records, 21st June :— This day Mr. Riues the schoolmaster came to this towne, the place having been supplied by Mr. Brancard ever since Mr. Cheekes death till now. Mr. Brancards brother was chosen Usher.—*Diary*, f. 137. Mayo gives Gabriel Ball elected 1630, but probably he was only an usher or undermaster. Reeve was from Hampshire, a New College man, perhaps selected by White. Cheeke's memory lingered until 1647 at all events,—see below "W. P's" reference to "our old Schoolmaster Mr. Chick." His successor, Reeve, was less popular; he allowed the school to degenerate, till in 1650 it was "commended to Mr. Reves consideration whether it were not better that he did

statement made in Sir Francis Ashley's grant of the great tithes of "Pudle Walterston" in 1617 to him and his successors, rectors of All Saints, because of Mr. Cheeke's "great paynes and travaile in expounding of the holie Scriptures, catchising & otherwise discharging the religious duties appertayning to his pastoral care & charge."³

To meet the existing situation in regard to education in Dorchester, it was decided, in 1623, to establish the "under school of Trinity," and a building for this purpose was erected in the churchyard of Holy Trinity, directly under the eye of John White. The cost, about 100^{li}, was borne by the Corporation, and they had the right "to put in what schoolmaster they shall think fit, to be removed upon just occasion, and the said schoolmaster and his successors are to undergo such order and government, as Mr. White and Mr. Cheeke and their successors shall think fit, being a subordinate school unto the free school, to train up boys and prepare them for the said free school."⁴ Aquila Purchase, probably the first master, was appointed in 1625; he relinquished his office when he emigrated to New England in 1632.⁵

About the same time that the establishment of the Under School was mooted, the lack of a Common Gaol for the County was recognized; the High Sheriff, the Justices of the Peace and others purchased land in East Street, Dorchester, and expended at least 1000^{li} in erecting one,⁶ which was finished in the summer of 1624,⁷ and was to accommodate, among others, incorrigible rogues.

So the new public buildings were in course of erection, and the old town was soon rising from its ashes to something of its former grandeur.

relinquish his place, having lost his esteem both in Towne and country, then any longer to continue Schoolmaster to the prejudice of the Towne and Schoole."—Mayo, p. 567.

³ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 620.

⁴ Hutchins, *Dorset*, I. p. 612.

⁵ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 181.

⁶ *Chancery Bills & Answers*, Bridges, 562/57. [Pope Collection, XII. 1.]

⁷ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 81.

John White was not one to establish an institution and then leave it to flourish or perish, for there are many traces of his fostering care. After Cheeke's long tenure, the Free School building and grounds had fallen into disrepair—collections were promptly made in St. Peter's Church; in four years, 1631–1634, these amounted to over 82^{li}, while All Saints on one occasion contributed 3^{li} 8^s 3^d, and Mr. Benn collected at several times 9^{li}, small sums by comparison. In 1635 it was ordered that money advanced for repairs to the School property should be refunded from the collections made “for the benefit of the Schole on the 6th August and 5th November.”⁸ These moneys had formerly been devoted to the relief of the sufferers by the Fire.

In connection with the School we have an instance of White's moderating influence in Dorchester. On 16th September, 1631, a serious dispute arose at a meeting of the Burgesses; a faction claimed that the Free School should be free to all, “whereas the deed being produced showed that the Founder meant it should be Free onely for poore mens children. Sr Francis Ashley was present at the debat, and showed them their errours, yet they were very unmannerly, & in an insolent manner cried out, a free schole, a free schole.”⁹ But, on 5th December, “there was made a solemne Pacification between the 15 of this town and the Commons, as they called themselves. Euery man shewing his readyness except Mr. John Coke, Patroclus Cooke and Roger Stephens—this was brought to passe by Mr. Whites mediation.”¹⁰

In connection with the Free School, a library was established in the Upper Room above the School Room. A catalogue of the books it contained, made in 1631, gives the names of the donors. John White gave “*Stephanus Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, V Vol.”¹¹ Sir John Croke, Baronet, was a generous giver; “John White, esq.” was

⁸ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, pp. 565–6.

⁹ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 169.

¹¹ Perhaps it was because White parted with this volume that his brother-in-law, John Burges, left him “*Stephanus his Concordance*” in his will of 1635.

probably the Rector's namesake, afterwards known as "Century White;" many local names appear, and the list of "*ex dono plurium*" is extensive. As a record of what was thought suitable for the residents, the catalogue is particularly interesting, showing a surprising catholicity of taste, ranging from *Biblia Regis*, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, A Catholic Divine's Answer to Coke's Reports, to Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, and Speed's *History and Maps of England*,¹² perhaps a trifle stodgy, but sufficiently varied to suit the palates of the townspeople.¹³ We miss, however, the Rector's own book, *The Planters Plea*.

The welfare of the Dorchester churches also received attention. Steps had been taken to augment the inadequate income of the ministers as early as 1564, when an unsuccessful effort had been made in that direction, but, in 1584, the burgesses, "desiring to procure a competent maintenance for a minister, of which they had been for the most part destitute," procured the advowson of Frome Whitfield, which "had been of long time utterly dispeopled and was then without any church or chapel." The income received was used partly to augment the minister's maintenance, and partly towards that of the Free School and of nine poor persons in the almshouses in Dorchester¹⁴—the share received by the minister in 1625 was 10*li*.¹⁵ The north aisle of St. Peter's is still known as the Frome Whitfield aisle, probably because it was built with some of the funds received.

Nor was the church of the Holy Trinity itself neglected, for various alterations and improvements were made. In 1614 the chancel was set in order; a new pulpit was erected,¹⁶ a minister's

¹² Among other books may be mentioned:— Josephus, both in Latin and English, Justin Martyr, Florio's Italian Dictionary, Jewel's Works, New Testament printed at Rheims and Cartwright's Confutation of the same, T. P.'s Defence of the Catholicke Cause and of English Catholickes, and a Dutch Bible.

¹³ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 581.

¹⁴ *Collectance Whiteway* [Cambridge University Library, Dd. xi, 73]. See *Dorset Natural History & Antiquarian Field Club*, XVI. p. 59.

¹⁵ Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 370.

¹⁶ This pulpit is still in use.

seat made; somewhat later cushions were provided for the pulpit, but it was not until 1625 that it was surmounted by a canopy at a cost of 1^{li} 6^s 8^d. The Royal Arms were put up in 1616 and the old Bible was replaced in 1622 by a new one.¹⁷

Already the new influence was making itself felt—a Puritanical, or rather a “precise,” tone began to pervade the town, strict enquiries were made concerning absences from Church, the excuse of staying at home “a mending her stockings” was accounted insufficient; a sudden and rapid increase in the amount of Malaga Sack for use at the Communion suggests a larger attendance;¹⁸ White’s *Ten Vows*, as well as a larger number of celebrations, rather than an increase of residents, may have effected this. To meet the situation additional silver was required. So we find that whereas the Churchwardens of Holy Trinity handed over one cup of silver, one surplice, one green carpet for the Communion table, one Bible and one Book of Common Prayer in 1616, there were purchased in 1627 two cups for the Communion, both of which remain, while the two Elizabethan chalices at St. Peter’s are of the year 1635, and a smaller one bearing the Pitt arms is of 1646;¹⁹ all these were added during White’s incumbency.

Unfortunately, these Puritanical sentiments of the town did not meet with the whole-hearted approval of the neighbouring gentry in all cases, for John Williams of Herringstone, Keeper of His Majesty’s game on the Manor of Fordington, poured out his wrath in a letter to the Earl of Suffolk against one Henry Maber, a mechanic, perhaps the clothier mentioned below,²⁰ who, although once pardoned, played the poacher with his greyhound as if he had no king to command him or had obtained exemption from the

¹⁷ Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 401. *Ibid.*, p. 403, charges occur in the Churchwardens’ Accounts “for baking the plaster for the Royal Arms.”

¹⁸ There is a charge of 3^{li} 1^s 3^d for 64 quarts in 1616; 72 quarts in 1623; 125 quarts in 1625. In 1619 nine Communion services were held in the course of the year—the number may have increased later—possibly, as in modern times, occasionally what was left in a bottle was distributed to the sick.

¹⁹ *Report on Communion Plate in Dorset*.

²⁰ See below.

obedience of a subject, "which is a damnable opinion of a Puritan." His hound was confiscated, but soon after, when Williams's servant was leading the beast through the town, he was assaulted by Maber, who was a constable, and as the man defended himself he was clapped into prison. If one subject could punish another contrary to law and justice for defending his Majesty's right, how should he be punished who had himself more than once offended? Such "foule and insolent abuse" required that speedy steps be taken "to curb the rebellious & turbulent dareing spirits of those Dorcestrians who faxiously contemne all law and iustice that is wthout their own precincts,"²¹—at least that was the opinion of Williams, which shows that already in 1629, Puritan sentiments were attributed to all the inhabitants of the Borough by some of their old-fashioned neighbours.

A very vivid glimpse of life in Dorchester is obtained from Whiteway's diary; many of the events recorded must have touched the pastor of the flock very nearly,—late harvests, the rise in the price of food, severe cold so that people were frozen to death in the highways, great epidemics, small-pox rife among the children and aged, more than one visitation of plague, though they had reason to be thankful that it raged here less severely than in Exeter.²² He gives, too, some idea of more cheerful local events:—when Dr. Wright, the new Bishop, made his visitation "Mr. Cheek acted two comedies at the shire hall for his coming, by his scholars." But six years later "the puppet players craved leave to play here in this town and had a warrant under the King's hand, yet were refused." We are left wondering whether in this order can be traced the effect of White's stricter ideas. Perhaps also to that

²¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 144, No. 83.

²² Whiteway enters, 26th October, 1625:—"The weekly fast on Wednesday begun on 20th July [because of the plague] ended in Dorchester this day wth a contribution to the reliefe of Exeter wch was in great distresse, many dying, for many weekes 100 and 150, of the sickness, the whole that day was 23li 16s to which was added 16li 4s to make it 40li & sent to Mr. Ignatius Jordan who was left alone in Extr. of all the Magistrates, all the rest having forsaken them." f. 105.

may be attributed the disfavour with which Whiteway records that "a very great Christmas" was kept by Sir George Trenchard, a neighbouring gentleman.

But White's interest was not confined to local affairs; his horizon was not bounded by the walls of Dorchester. Events in England were exciting enough—the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, the phenomenal rise of the Duke of Buckingham, the settlement of Protestants in Ulster, the death of Prince Henry, the execution of Raleigh, the publication of the Book of Sports, were matters of moment, while events upon the Continent were having their influence upon those at home. The vicinity of the port of Weymouth would have brought White into personal relation, so to speak, with foreign affairs. A short ride to that port would have enabled him to see the landing of the Lord Chamberlain on his return from Spain, who rode post haste to London, followed later by the arrival of the lieger Ambassador, with a message to King James. "What does it portend?" would have been on the lips of all—an antipathy to Spain filled the minds of Englishmen who had not yet forgotten the days of Drake, Raleigh and the Armada, while the Puritans dreaded the advent of a Roman Catholic Queen. News came on 25th August, 1623, that a fleet had arrived at Portland to bring home the Prince and his lady from Madrid as the marriage had already taken place. The ships, touching at Weymouth, had left at midnight of the 26th, writes Whiteway, entering the rumours. "The Princess Royal, bearing the Admiral [the Earl of Rutland] is a vessel of wonderful bigness and beauty," a fact he records probably from personal knowledge.²³ The Spanish King demanded "two or three ports to be at his disposing and that the Lady Elizabeth [Queen of Bohemia] and her children be with the Archduchess of Brussels as hostages for the safety of the Infanta Maria," records Yonge, White's friend, in his Diary.²⁴ He describes, too, the preparations in Madrid for the marriage—the assembly of the nobility, the erection of scaffolding, etc., while in England King James, fearing for

²³ *Diary*, f. 64

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

the safety of the Prince, was yielding to all demands, even erecting a chapel for the future Princess, while muttering "We are building a temple for the Devil." Three days before that appointed for the wedding, Yonge informs us, the King's demands were presented to Philip, "the delivery of the Palatinate according to a former agreement or else a cessation of all other proceedings. Whereat the King of Spain was wonderfully incensed and we are all persuaded that without redelivery of the Palatinate, no match."²⁵ All the world knows the result. In September news came to Dorchester of the safe arrival of the Prince at Portsmouth, which was celebrated by the ballad singers, but this proved false, though it was simply premature, for Whiteway records that "the Prince with the Duke of Buckingham arrived on Sunday, October 5th. There was great joy and the great pieces were shot off twice at Dorchester,"²⁶ while the bells of Holy Trinity rang forth a joyful peal.²⁷ To the Puritans came a sense of relief—for the moment the prospect of a Roman Catholic Queen disappeared—but the whole incident had awakened "the old Protestant resistance and gave new life to Puritanism."²⁸ But with this proposed marriage was inextricably woven the question of the Palatinate, one of such grave moment to the Puritans.

White's own interest in the rescue of the Palatinate can be traced from a fairly early period. In 1620 a sum of 2000^{li} was raised in Dorchester for that purpose. Whiteway remarks that the Papists had collected 30,000^{li} for the Emperor, part of which had fallen into the King's hands, while D'Ewes states that much of the money raised in aid of the Palatinate "came short of so good use." Moreover, the miseries of the Thirty Years' War were brought home to the Dorcestrians in 1626 when a party of refugees came to live amongst them; Whiteway informs us that "4 gentlemen, all of the Palatinate, came hither for shelter, and were entertained. Their

²⁵ *Op cit.*, p. 71.

²⁶ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 67.

²⁷ Churchwardens' Accounts. [Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 401.]

²⁸ Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, p. 44.

names were:— Mr. Slear, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Haake and Mr. Hopff.”²⁹ Some of these remained in the town for a considerable period— John Caspar Hopff married White’s niece, Katherine Gardner, and afterwards took the degree of Doctor of Physic at Oxford in 1636.³⁰ Mr. Haak “departed hence to returne to Germany” on 15th February, 1631/2, but had meanwhile been at Oxford; this was the famous Theodore Haak, who made a translation of the Bible, with annotations, and part of *Paradise Lost*, into High Dutch.³¹ John Henry Fisher was to have gone with Haak in 1631, but was detained by illness until 2nd July, 1633, and died at “Wormbs” 8th November, 1634. John Nicholas Rulizius or Reuliss, another refugee, must have arrived about the same time as the above four gentlemen; he was White’s assistant from 1627 to 1631; afterwards he was agent for the Queen of Bohemia; at another time he collected funds for the restoration of the University of Heidelberg, and later became minister to the English Church at Amsterdam; finding this uncongenial, he returned to the task of collecting—on this occasion for his suffering compatriots. Whiteway probably learned from him that “the inhabitants of the Palatinate suffered far more from the Swedes and French who came to help them, than ever they did under the Spanish and Imperialists, so they longed for their Government again,”³²—a point of view also accepted by White, who, in his own writings, used the awful fate of the Protestants there as a warning in his *General Observations for the Plantation of New England*; he draws attention to the slackness of the bulk of the Protestants who sat still and did not labour for shelter while they might, pointing them out as an awful example of the evil of tarrying too long; he adds “yf they were now in

²⁹ *Diary*, f. 123.

³⁰ Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis*, I. 493.

³¹ He was ordained deacon by Bishop Hall; the Assembly of Divines ordered his “annotations” to be translated and printed; he died in his kinsman’s, Dr. Frederick Slear’s, house, in an alley joining Fetter Lane, on Sunday 9th May, 1690, and was buried in St. Andrew’s, Holborn.—Wood, *Athene Oxoniensis*, IV. 279.

³² *Diary*, f. 213. More about Rulice will be found in Prynne, *Canterbury’s Doom*, pp. 391, 540. See also below.

their former liberty we may be sure they would take other course for their safety, although most of them had miscarried in their escape they had not been halfe soe miserable to themselues & scandalous to religion as their desperate backslydinge & abiuring the truth w^{ch} many of their auncient professors amongst them & their whole posterity that remayne are plunged into," or, as it is elsewhere expressed, the Protestants of Bohemia sat supine until the Palgrave was defeated, the fires of religious persecution kindled and the Catholic religion thrust by force into the Palatinate.³³ In his *Ten Vows*, also, he refers in moving terms to the Protestants there who suffered for their religion.³⁴

The Puritans as a body viewed the situation with dismay; they saw the Protestants on the Continent being gradually overthrown by the Catholics and recognized that this was largely due to the lack of cohesion between the Calvinists and Lutherans, who failed to offer a united front to their Catholic opponents, thus allowing themselves to be conquered piecemeal. By the victories of the Popish party the Puritans were startled, fearing a similar fate; the Spanish match had been reckoned as an entering wedge for the Jesuits; the Puritans saw Papists behind every bush and lurking beneath Laud's cloak—the latter's supposed communication with, and support of, the Jesuits, the imposition of Popish ceremonies, the revival, or rather increase, of penal persecutions of Non-conformists as well as Separatists, were but means for re-enslavement of the English by the Pope and they were confident that the terrors inflicted on their fellow-Protestants during the Thirty Years' War would soon fall upon them unless the Lord was moved to prevent such a catastrophe. But one man, at least, foreseeing a like fate for all Protestants, endeavoured to find a formula of agreement between the Calvinists and Lutherans and incidentally he sought White's assistance. This was John Durie, who, because his father had been exiled from Scotland for his religious opinions, had been educated in Holland and had travelled much elsewhere. He was

³³ See Appendix II.

³⁴ See Appendix II.

struck by the fact that unless there could be brought about a cessation of enmity between the two great Protestant bodies there could be no hope of checking the Catholic successes. As Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador at the Court of the Winter Queen, wrote when supporting Durie's scheme, the temporal peace of the Reformation "can never be secured unless a unity in religion bind it up; *i.e.*, that all the Evangelicks, however differing in some forms and expositions, may be agreed in the foundation to esteem themselves one church and one body, for the unity of the opposite is strength and the advantage which will work upon all their breaches to their ruin by this means only to be balanced;"³⁵ and, again, "the temporal estates of the Protestant Princes could never be secure unless fenced by the union of ecclesiastical peace;"³⁶ and he urges that "the schism be removed and love and charity take the chair from envy and dispute."³⁷

To obtain this unity among Protestants, Durie worked energetically, interviewing Princes, seeking assistance from their secretaries, asking for the support of English Archbishops, Bishops, and Doctors of Divinity, collecting funds from high and low, urging upon all the dangers of the present situation. Whiteway gives us a glimpse of him in February, 1633/4, "This month Mr. Duræus a Scottish minister, having taken incredible pains with the King of Sweden & all the Protestant Princes and States of Germany about the re-uniting of the Calvinists and Lutherans, returned to England & came to Dr. Laud, Archbishop, to know what assistance & furtherance he might expect from England for this weighty busynesse. The Archb. told him that it was a mystery of state that he did not meddle in, but offered him a good parsonage in Cornwall if he would accept it and upon his accepting gave him letters of presentation thereunto. Duræus went into Cornwall with his letters & there found the Incumbent living & in good health & so was

³⁵ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 240, No. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 243, No. 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

disappointed.”³⁸ It looks as if Laud had intended to banish Durie and his troublesome theories to the western wilderness, but it is reported that His Grace paid Durie’s expenses on this occasion. Durie, himself, refers to his journey, and says that on his return from Exeter “I took in my way Mr. White, because I heard that he knew something of my purpose and was a man of action and of godliness.”³⁹ Not long after this, when Dr. Stoughton’s study was raided, a letter, it was reported, was found therein from White, commending Durie’s undertaking and desiring Stoughton to procure that “the legacy of Lady Barnidiston, to be disposed for pious uses, should be conferred upon Durie’s work.”⁴⁰ Of this fund, in the hands of Stephen Marshall, 150^{li} was so bestowed, according to Sir Nathaniel Brent’s report of his Visitation in 1636/7, and he adds that Durie “is said to labour a pacification between the Calvinists and Lutherans.”⁴¹ But the scheme met with endless difficulties; even when Durie at length reduced his basis of agreement to fundamentals—the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer—it was not accepted, and he was acrimoniously attacked by the Lutherans.

Meanwhile, the situation in England was becoming more grave—the enforcement of the signing of the Articles with severe penalties when Laud came into power, increased the stream of exiles who had long been seeking greater freedom in Holland and elsewhere; many preferred to flee to a foreign land than stay in England to suffer persecution. Presently, as will be seen, the dissensions between different bodies of exiles in Holland became violent, and there were those who preferred to find a resting-place in a country not under the control of foreigners, which led to emigration to New England, with which movement White was early associated.

But before turning to that subject, it should be mentioned that many foreign students found their way to Dorchester, attracted

³⁸ *Diary*, f. 196. See also *Court & Times of Charles I*, II. p. 262.

³⁹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 302, No. 63.

⁴⁰ See below.

⁴¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 351, No. 100.

by White's repute among the Protestant Churches abroad and the high esteem in which he was held by all the Puritans. In 1634, Whiteway notes that "S^r William van Ensum, one of the States of Hollande sons, with his tutor John van Shutenbroick, came to live here; they lodged at Mr. John Blachfords and dined at Mr. White's" and in the same year "Mr. John Tredera, a gentleman of Pomerania came to live here and lay at Mr. John Blachford's with Mr. Ensum."⁴² It must have been much earlier than this, about 1627, that he extended his hospitality to Christopher Jelinger, a Puritan writer of repute, who has this paragraph in a dedicatory letter prefixed to *The Unvaluable Worth of Mans Soul*:—"being called from Geneva (where I was a Student in Divinity and a Preacher) by that famous Minister of Christ, Mr. White of Dorchester into England, [who] did not only entertain me, but also maintain me, till I had learned your language, and could preach therein: whereas before I could preach only in Dutch and French."⁴³

As has been said, White's horizon was not bounded by the walls of Dorchester, nor were his thoughts confined to the Eastern Hemisphere. The task he undertook in the New World, his vision of a glorious future, his struggles to realize it, and the measure of success attained will receive very full consideration, for the continuity of his work, and the large degree of responsibility he had for the settlement of Massachusetts, have not heretofore received due recognition.

⁴² Whiteway, *Diary*, ff. 205, 212.

⁴³ *Biographical Sketch of Christopher Jelinger*, by Frances B. Troup, with Bibliographical Notes by Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, p. 16.

CHAPTER VI

WHITE AND THE COLONIZING MOVEMENT

"The huge and vast Seas are the Creatures of God, ordained for the special use of Man . . . to fill their hearts with the fear of that great God by beholding so vast, and mighty a Creature . . . kept within the bounds . . . appointed for it; . . . by it way is made . . . to the discovering of the large Circuits of the Earth . . . given to the sons of Men for their habitation . . . discovered only by Navigation, and unknown in a great part in former ages . . . for the use of mans life it is beneficial . . . affording the means of intercourse, between Nation and Nation, and thereby, in some measure, uniting the far distant parts of the earth, and making way for the dispersing of those various commodities, in which some Countries abound, when others want them; so that by this means, all the fruits . . . which the earth produceth, are communicated to every part of it."

JOHN WHITE.

EARLY in the second decade of the Seventeenth Century those of the school of religious thought with which White was closely associated, seriously considered the best method of escape from the difficult situation in which they were placed by the troubles with the ecclesiastical authorities which daily threatened to become worse.

As a place of refuge from the tyranny of the Bishops, many turned their eyes towards New England with bright hopes. The Virginia Company in the southern part of America, was not proving very successful, and its management was too largely in the hands of men not in sympathy with the reforming movement; the Bermudas and other settlements in that region were condemned in

the eyes of the religious because so many undesirables had a footing there, but when the division took place, in 1620, between Virginia and New England several ardent Puritans interested themselves in the newly-formed Council, hoping that under their auspices the sufferers for religion might find a place of rest.

Undoubtedly among those whose hopes were raised was John White, who, from the outset, had in mind a refuge in that part of the world for the persecuted, but he appears to have taken a very practical view of the proper method of colonization, and it is a fairly simple matter to trace his theory in the practices that he followed. Living near the sea-port of Weymouth, whence many fishing-fleets sailed, especially to Newfoundland and New England, the souls of the fishermen concerned him greatly. He tells us that "being usually upon their Voyages nine or ten months in the yeare they were left all the while without any meanes of instruction" in matters of religion, so he took into consideration the best means of supplying this lack. He knew that the ships were "double-manned", because during the brief fishing season more than a bare sailing company was required; the scheme of leaving the spare men behind in the country seemed to him an excellent nucleus for a colony; these would be on the spot in the following season, and, it was urged, could be employed in the interval in raising or obtaining food for their own sustenance and for the sailors when they returned.

It was indeed a modest beginning, but there can be no doubt that his imagination carried him forward, first to a little settlement, yearly increased and gradually able to live in more comfort, with a minister to care for their souls; and then upon this foundation he saw rising a strong, almost self-supporting colony, giving to the Mother Country a rich return for any sacrifices entailed. We watch the cautious advance under his guidance and the progress of the work; he arouses interest in this project among the neighbouring clergy and merchants and seeks the aid of a few Londoners; this leads to the inception of the Dorchester Company. Its failure, due to the difficulty of finding men combining the qualities

required both for fishing and agriculture, taught him that a wider basis must be sought, a stronger foundation laid; still employing the two supporting pillars, he obtains the assistance of the Puritan merchants in London, and through their financial aid a class of men emigrated such as were required to build upon the foundation, and the company, under a grant from the Council for New England, is formed. He details those who are required for a Colony:—"good Governors, able Ministers, Physitians, Souldiers, Schoole masters, Mariners, Mechanicks of all sorts," who need to be "of the more sufficiency because the first fashioning of a politicke body is a harder task then the ordering of that which is already framed." Difficulties surround him but still, with the idea of a union of religion and practical affairs, he moves forward; he, with Davenport, is appointed to select the ministers suited to the enterprise; he pleads the cause of the conversion of the heathen as an important part of the project; he welcomes the aid of the religious-minded men of Lincolnshire, who had similar objects in mind. He attends meetings, sits on committees, urges the appointment of chaplains and takes active part in the proceedings of the Company. Unfortunately he meets with a check in regard to the plantation he had started at Nahum-Keike and had nourished through anxious times, but his own personal feelings and those of his Dorset men must be subordinated to the greater project which was taking shape before his eyes—the addition to the Company, a body of emigrants of competent estate, sound education and of deeply religious tendencies, had taken control of affairs and though he himself must presently stand aside from active participation, he gives great assistance to the good cause; through weary negotiations he helps to uphold the rights of the early Adventurers and, adopting a give and take principle, a reasonable compromise is reached; although he and others of the Old Adventurers perceive that the return likely to accrue to them for their financial outlay, to say nothing of their pioneer work, would be indeed small, yet the great enterprise which is seen to be developing is of vastly more importance. A firmly-established settlement upon the foundations he had laid

some seven years before, the management thereof by men of experience and of religion, well-fitted to govern a colony, now emigrating in person, all gave promise of the strong refuge for those who, in the stormy period now upon the Nation, required it; now he felt he could rest and be thankful, though he never lost his interest in the progress of the colony; this is shown by the letters, written another seven years later, wherein he deals with the religious aspect and the business question, both as regards merchandize and fishing, in an eminently practical manner. To the end, as far as we can judge from the material available, he bore in mind the two great objects—the foundation of a self-supporting colony and a refuge for those with troubled consciences.

The theory that the Dorchester enterprise was a mere fishing and trading venture has been too often stated as a positive fact, and the further assertion, based on Dudley's unfounded claim, that the Lincolnshire men introduced the religious element, has been accepted as a cardinal point by too many writers on the history of New England. But at the outset they are met by White's statement that, in 1623, the souls of the fishermen and the rest of the nation formed an important item in the earliest scheme, and that the Dorchester Company, which took up this matter very promptly, was a body of one hundred and twenty-one men, more than one-sixth of whom were clergymen, all with Puritan tendencies, and not in a position to be tempted to speculate in fishing and fur-trading, while White, the prime-mover, and Conant, the chief pioneer, were both men of deep religious feeling. Early historians have asserted that in both the mainspring of their share in the work was religion.

Hubbard points out that in laying the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony, the chiefest intentions and aims of those who managed the business, were "to promote religion and, if it might be, propagate the Gospel in this dark corner of the world. Witness the industry and solicitousness of Mr. White of Dorchester in England, that first contrived the carrying on of a plantation of sober and religious persons together with a strange impression on the mind of Roger Conant to pitch upon Nahumkeag for that end

and his confidence and constancy" in spite of cross providences which seemed at the first view to thwart the design.¹ He describes how Mr. White, the famous preacher, conceived the idea, and heard of the misfortunes of Roger Conant, "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman", who secretly conceived in his mind that the plantation "might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world", and how "Mr. White (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in New England) being grieved in spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground", gave sufficient support for the continuance of the enterprise.²

Mather lauded the early emigrants highly yet gives our hero this meed of praise, although it can hardly be admitted that the Plymouth plantation had, in 1623, attained any large measure of prosperity,—he says their success inspired "the renowned Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, to prosecute the settlement of such another Plantation here for the propagation of Religion. This good man engaged several gentlemen about the year 1624, in this noble design, and they employed a most religious, prudent, worthy gentleman, one Mr. Roger Conant, in the government of the place, and of their affairs upon the place."³ Here he gives an early date at which the religious element took possession of the scheme.⁴

But the subsequent marvellous development under those who took over the management of the Colony in 1629/30, has so greatly overshadowed White's pioneer work, that these assertions by Hubbard and Mather have, to a great extent, been ignored, and the religious aspect of his efforts has not received its proper recognition—

¹ *History of New England*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106. It should be remembered that Conant was still alive when this was written.

³ *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. I. p. 16.

⁴ Haven, *American Antiquarian Transactions*, III. p. xlv, corrects Hutchinson's supposition as to Rosewell and other patentees being uninterested in the religious motive, supporting the idea that this was the object of the Dorchester Company.

the fame and glory, that are his due, have been filched from him, and in modern accounts of New England it is considered sufficient to refer to the Dorchester Plantation as a fishing and trading enterprise.⁵

White himself would not have complained of this neglect as he recognized that as "in building of houses the first stones of the foundations are buried under ground and are not seen, so in planting of Colonies the first stocks employed that way are consumed, although they serve for a foundation to the work"⁶—and on the same grounds he would have accepted the usual fate of pioneers, to go unrecognized, quite satisfied that as regards himself and the adventurers "their posteritie (if not themselves) may have cause in time to come, to acknowledge it a good purchase that was made at so low a rate, but if they lend, looking for nothing againe, we know the promise of Luk.6.35. [Your reward shall be great, and you shall be the Childe of the Highest,] he is no loser that hath made God his debtor."⁷ With his own generous mind he might well have continued the quotation with a personal application of the principle, "for he is kind unto the unthankful."

As we follow the story of his connexion with the colonizing movement we feel that with the eye of faith he must have seen something of the future greatness of the Colony, though he could never have envisaged the position eventually held by the Old Bay State, nor can we believe that he would have understood or approved some of the steps taken on the path to greatness. To him the colonists were simply "Englishmen beyond Seas."⁸ In his *Planters Plea*, when dealing with persons fit to be employed in colonization, he remarks:—"a State that intends to draw out a colony for the inhabiting of another Country, must look to the mother and the daughter with an equall and indifferent eye, remembering that a colony is a part and member of her own body",⁹

⁵ See Osgood, *American Colonies*, II. p. 143.

⁶ *Planters Plea*, p. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁸ See on this subject H. E. Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, p. 70.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

and again, "In all Colonies it is to be desired that the daughter may answer something back by way of retribution to the mother that gave her being . . . a Colonie denying due respect to the State from whose bowels it issued is as great a monster as an unnatural child."¹⁰ He would have viewed with horror the action of the Massachusetts Bay settlers when assuming the attitude of an independent State in treating the King as an equal, and it would be difficult to imagine his feelings could he have learned that a State with which he had been so closely connected, threw off the "yoke" of the Mother Country. J. T. Adams reminds us that the Massachusetts colonists were as yet Englishmen, so that their acts and utterances against the home government were rank rebellion¹¹—a fact too often forgotten when considering the Colonial movement.

The continuity of White's connexion with the several companies engaged in the settlement in Massachusetts, will become apparent as the story unfolds, but the part he may have taken before the division of the Virginia Company's territory is uncertain. His name does not occur in the Records of that company though several of those with whom he worked later are there mentioned; Sir Walter Erle and his brother Christopher obtained shares in it on 11th May, 1620, and the former attended meetings until 21st May, 1621, that is, after the establishment of the Council for New England. Mr. Whetcombe had a share assigned him on 20th June, 1620; Mr. Cradock obtained one of "Lady La Warre's" shares on 30th April, 1621.

Nor can we say exactly what part White took in connexion with the Plymouth Plantation, though we may confidently assert that he watched it at the outset with a benevolent eye—many of the Leyden exiles must have been known to him, at least by name. Mr. Haven maintains that he was "one of the Company in England who furnished money and necessaries to the pilgrims at Plymouth . . . When the pilgrims desired to obtain from their partners at

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹ *Founding of New England*, p. 159.

home a release of their interest in the common property, Mr. White led the way in compounding for a moderate sum upon terms easy of fulfilment." This statement he founds on the occurrence of the name of John White at the head of the list of those signing the agreement or "bargen"¹² in 1626, but this is hardly sufficient proof; there is, seemingly, evidence to the contrary to be inferred from Lyford's statement that the Adventurers he addressed had not a single clergyman amongst them,¹³ which points rather to the Counsellor, or "Century" White as the first named in that list. Moreover, it will become apparent that, although the success at Plymouth may have encouraged him, he considered that Separation from the Church of England was evil, and that the colony he originally founded was intended entirely for those who held his opinions, and was distinctly in opposition to that at Plymouth.

¹² Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, II. p. 6, note.

¹³ See below.

CHAPTER VII

THE DORCHESTER COMPANY

1623

For richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter;
Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter:
Christ calls for Trade shall never fade, come Cradock factors send;
Let Mayhew go and others mo', spare not thy coyne to spend;
Such Trades advance did never chance, in all Trading yet:
Though some deride, thy loss abide, here's gain beyond man's wit.

JOHNSON, *Wonder-Working Providence*.

WHILE the pastor of Dorchester had his mind so full of colonizing projects it was only natural that his flock were keenly interested in such matters. They had the subject brought to their very doors as early as 1619. Whiteway notes, under 28th August of that year:— "The Lottery of the Virginia Company began to be opened, consisting of 5000 blancs and 1750 prizes [prizes] worth 1259^{li} for one shilling the Lotte."¹ We may take it that the agent for the Lottery, Mr. Gabriel Barbour, one of the earliest adventurers in the company, either to encourage business or for the success attained, contributed, through Mr. Morgan Hayne, one pound for charity which it was decided should "be employed for the benefitt of the Hospital."²

But the course of events swiftly developed so that the Dor-

¹ *Diary*, f. 16.

² Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 559. Barbour was the authorized lottery agent for the Virginia Company. See *Records of the Virginia Company*, I. p. 556.

chester people were soon swept into the full tide of the colonizing movement and took active part therein, as was to be expected where White ruled so completely over his parishioners.

In the Rector's mind some fairly definite idea was formed for the establishment of a colony of Non-conformists, as distinct from the Separatists who had recently settled at New Plymouth. It will become apparent that White did not approve of the views entertained by those colonists, and his purpose was to have a place of refuge for men of moderate views.

White became aware of the method adopted by the Council for New England for establishing settlements upon their territory; on the payment of 110^{li} an indenture would be issued, under the authority of which people could be transported to occupy land provided it was not already inhabited by Englishmen nor within ten miles of any English settlement unless divided therefrom by a river, on condition that the settlers would remain for three years, and would undertake to build churches, schools and other public buildings. At any time within seven years, a lawful survey having been made, the indenture could be exchanged for letters or grants of incorporation entitling the holders to make laws and ordinances for the rule, government, ordering and directing all persons there settled, and also a grant of such lands. In order that a suitable site might be found a licence was obtainable to allow prospecting in a given district.³

Until the middle of the year 1622, such privileges were confined to the original members of the Council, but in the August of that year, on a reconstruction of the company, it was ordered that new adventurers might be admitted "provided they be persons of honour or gentlemen of blood, except six Western Merchants."

This was White's opportunity, and he seized it; gentlemen of blood were available, and merchants were prepared to search for a situation. So the ball was set rolling.

Among his parishioners was Richard Bushrod, a mercer or haber-

³ Both the indenture of John Peirce and of Lord Sheffield contained these propositions and conditions.

dasher, a man of substance and importance; already he had twice represented the Borough in Parliament and was destined to do so a third time. Active, free-spoken, independent, and with excellent qualifications, he was well suited for the task he undertook. He was one of those "Western Merchants" who had carried on a trade in fishing for cod and bartering for furs in New England for divers years, and he was persuaded that a colony could be formed of the surplus men required for fishing, who were now employed to double-man the ships; leaving such on the coast, they could subsist on the products of the land, raise fresh food, and, when the next season opened, be ready to join the fishing fleet on their return.⁴ This, White foresaw, would form a nucleus for that larger colony, a refuge for persecuted religious, such as he envisaged. He, with a few friends of the same way of thinking, combined with Bushrod and other traders, in an attempt to carry out their schemes. Bushrod was to act as their representative in applying for the necessary authority. The result of this is entered in the Records of the Council for New England under date of 18th February, 1622/3:—

Whereas Mr. William Darby of the Towne of Dorchester, Agent for Richard Bashrode of the same, Mercht., and his Associates, propounded unto the Councell that the said Mr. Bashrode desired that either himselfe or some one of his Associates might bee admitted a patentee, and for that they purpose to Settle a plantacion in New England, they now prayed to have a Lycence granted unto them to send forth a Shippe for Discovery and other Employments in New England for this yeare, which the Councell ordered accordingly.

This was followed by an entry on the 20th:—

Whereas it was ordered that Mr. Bushrode and his Associates should have a Lycence to sett forth a Shipp for discovery and other Employments in New England, the Lycence, being signed by the Earle of Warwick, Sr. Ferd. Gorges and Sr. Sam^{ll}. Argall, was this day sealed, And a covenant taken from Mr. Derby that if the said Mr. Bushrode nor any

⁴ *Planters Plea*, p. 38.

of his Associates came not in for a pattentee before the 26th of May next, then to pay £13. 6s. 8d. for this Lycence, whereof £10 was forthwith paid to the hands of Sr. Ferd. Gorges for the use of the said Council, and the residue payable on the 26th of May next.

And if the said Mr. Bushrode or any one of his Associates come in for a pattentee before the said 26th of May, then to pay on that day £50 and the other £50 to make up £110 on y^e second day of July then following, as by the Covenant remaining in Dr. Goche's Custody appeareth.⁵

"Mr. Bushrode and his Associates" represented the group of White's friends, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was their intention to "come in for a pattentee" when a report was received of the result of this voyage of discovery, and that in the event, Sir Walter Erle was the person who applied for the indenture promised and partly paid for, and the colonization scheme "took so well" that divers persons joined it for divers reasons.

On 21st January, 1622/3, the Council for New England ordered the preparation of a letter giving reasons why the Western Merchants should further the scheme of settlement in New England, of which they wished the King to send out copies into every shire.⁶ This was eventually sanctioned on 8th December, 1623, and despatched to the Lords Lieutenants of the Western Counties. They were instructed to call meetings to consider certain "Reasons" enclosed why the settlement of a plantation in New England should commend itself to merchants of the Western parts. Sir Francis Russell, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Exeter the previous July, forwarded his copies with a covering letter to his deputies,⁷ but as far as can be discovered no steps were taken in Devon. But in Dorset the case was different, the project chimed in well with the

⁵ *Records of the Council for New England*, ed. Deane, pp. 38, 39.

⁶ *Records of the Council for New England*, p. 38. One reason for assuming the identity of the letter of December with the suggested letter was the reference to the transportation of the poor people, urged by Sir Henry Spelman, and forming the subject of paragraphs 3 and 10 of the "Reasons."

⁷ *Exeter Corporation MSS. Letters*, Nos. 260-262.

wishes of the little body of enthusiasts in Dorchester. Bearing in mind the maxim "Private purses are could comforts to adventurers and have ever ben fownde fatall to all interprises hitherto undertaken by the English by reason of delaies, jeloces and unwillingnes to backe that project which succeeded not at the first attempt,"⁸ they called a meeting on 16th December, 1623, to consider their scheme and the King's letter, concerning which Whiteway writes:—"Sr Walter Erle Gouvernour of the New England plantacion came hether to advise wth the rest of the planters about the ordering of the busynesse. A share is 5^{li} a yeare to be paid yearly for 5 yeares, and then shalbe a distribution of the proffits. I haue subscribed to be one share."⁹

From this it appears that Sir Walter Erle, a Dorset man, was a prime-mover in the enterprise; the fact that he is at this early date given the title of "Governour of the New England Plantation" goes far to support the theory that an indenture had been issued in his name. At this gathering of the planters, probably also attended by local men interested in the project though not intending emigrants, the joint-stock plan was put forward. It may have been that the King's letter was read as likely to appeal to the prosperous merchants and others present. They would have listened attentively and have found the reasons urged admirable:— the employment of many thousands now ready to starve for want of work; the temperate and healthful clime, shortly to form "a vent for oure clothes and other stuffes"; the "commodityes", such as timber, flax, hemp and dye-stuffs, to be obtained there; land to be granted in return for reasonable payment in the joint-stock with almost incredible interest promised with the re-iterated statement that an opportunity would thus be afforded, not only for disposing of the poor who were chargeable to the towns, but also of the unemployable, who could best be spared, as well as of "the younger

⁸ *Lansdowne MS.* 160, "Reasons for raising a fund for the support of a colony in Virginia." See A. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, p. 37.

⁹ *Diary*, f. 69.

brothers and brave gentlemen" now nearly ruined, and—a point which would have attracted the Puritan element of the town—

"Lastly, and above all the rest, by theis opertunity there is no Countye within the Relme, but by this course hath also a special occasion and meanes presented unto them to dedicate their best service to the god of Heaven and earth by endeavouring to advance his glorie, in seeking how to settle the Christian ffayth in these Heathenishe and desert partes of the world w^{ch} who shall refuse to further lett him under goe the blame thereof himself."¹⁰

Many of those present must have felt that they were listening to an exordium from their beloved pastor, who so often used almost identical words and phrases in his sermons; it may be imagined that the first Associates emphasized each Reason with an approving nod. What promise Erle himself made of financial and other support is not recorded, but as he continued his interest in the enterprise for some years it may be assumed that it was something more generous than that Sir Francis Russell made in his letter:—"In which I shall so farr wish the good of the action that my venture in it shalbe fixed according to my affection, and not according to the meanesse of my fortune".¹¹ White may have added a few commendatory words, dealing with the religious side of the matter, and Bushrod would have made a report of his voyage of discovery; the steps already taken to obtain a grant, and the joint-stock scheme with its method of payment were explained, and those present were asked to urge their friends to join.

A favourable start was made on this occasion, and preparations were set in hand to carry out their purpose in the approaching fishing season. All was so far advanced that a meeting at the Free School on 31st March, 1624, chose a committee for the New England business; their names are given by Whiteway:—

¹⁰ *Exeter Corporation MS. Letters*, No. 262.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 260.

Sir Walter Erle Gouvernor, Mr. Humfreys, Esq., Treasurer

Sir Richard Strode

Mr. John Hill

Sir Arthur Smitheys

Mr. Wm. Derby

Mr. John Browne

Mr. James Gould

Dr. Bradish

Wm. Whiteway, Jr.

Mr. John Keate

Mr. Henry Manifold

Mr. Giles Green

O

Mr. Edw^d Clarke

O

12

Here we have fourteen of the members of the Dorchester Company with two spaces left blank, marked by two small circles, intended probably for entering John White and Richard Bushrod.¹³ This is designated by Whiteway elsewhere as "The New England Planters Parliament";¹⁴ a grand title this would have seemed at the time, but, in view of later developments, well deserved, for the undertaking formed the nucleus of the greater enterprise known as the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which in its turn developed into the powerful Commonwealth.

The Dorchester Company, from this small beginning, before long numbered one hundred and twenty-one members; of these about fifty were gentry of Dorset, and a half-dozen of Devon; more than thirty were prosperous merchants, mostly of Dorchester; at least twenty were clergymen; there were four widows, whose husbands had been gentry or merchants, and a few Londoners; the remainder were men in a small way of business.¹⁵

For such a body it must have been difficult to raise the required funds, even with promises of 25^{li} payable in five years; but before long "out of compassion towards the fishermen and partly some expectation of gain",¹⁶ something over 3000^{li} was collected with promises of more; with the fund available they started their venture "to establish a colony".

¹³ *Diary*, f. 76.

¹⁴ They may have signed the list as prime-movers of the scheme.

¹⁵ *Commonplace Book*. Cambridge University Library, MS. DD. xi. 73.

¹⁶ The names are given in a lawsuit that occurred at a later date. See Appendix III.

¹⁷ *Planters Plea*, p. 39.

White thus describes the inception of their scheme, and their first efforts:—"About the yeare 1623, some Westerne *Marchants* (who had continued a trade of fishing for Cod and bartering for Furres in those parts for divers yeares before) conceiving that a Colony planted on the Coast might further them in those employments, bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alledging the conveniency of compassing their proiect with a small charge, by the opportunitie of their fishing trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their Ships, that (by the helpe of many hands) they might dispatch their voyage, and lade their Ship with Fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sayling company. Now it was conceived, that the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary saylers, might be left behind with provisions for a yeare; and when that Ship returned the next yeare, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former yeare; and, in the meane time, might employ themselves in building, and planting Corne, which with the provisions of Fish, Foule, and Venison, that the Land yeilded, would affoord them the chiefe of their foode."¹⁷ He points out elsewhere:—"It must needs be a great advantage unto our men after so long a voyage to be furnished with fresh victuall there; and that supplied out of that Land, without spending the provisions of our owne countrey."¹⁸

Continuing the first quotation we read:—"This Proposition of theirs tooke so well, that it drew on divers persons, to joyne with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not onely their owne Fishermen, but the rest of our Nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not onely

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38. To these ventures Cotton Mather must refer in *Magnalia Christi*, [1702 ed. p. 16]:—"Several persons in the West of England, having by Fishing Voyages to Cape Ann, the Northern Promontory of the Massachusetts Bay, obtained some acquaintance with those parts.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14. A similar point of view was taken by Winslow in *Good Newes from New England*, published in 1624, just after the above scheme was coming into effect. "What may the Planters expect, when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight

by fresh victuall, which the Colony might spare them in time, but withall, and more, by the benefit of their Ministers labours, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise being usually upon those Voyages nine or ten moneths in the yeare, they were left all the while without any meanes of instruction at all." Here, then, it is distinctly stated that in 1623 the supply of ministers for the care of the souls of those who settled there was a main cause of the enterprise. "Compassion towards the Fishermen, and partly some expectation of game [gaine?], prevailed so farre that for the planting of a Colony in *New England* there was raised a Stocke of more then three thousand pounds, intended to be payd in five yeares, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time."

"How this Stocke was employed and by what errours and oversights it was wasted" is thus described:— "The first imployment of this new raised Stocke, was in buying a small Ship of fiftie tunnes, which was with as much speed as might be dispatched towards *New England* vpon a Fishing Voyage: the charge of which Ship with a new sute of sayles and other provisions to furnish her, amounted to more then three hundred pound. Now by reason the Voyage was vndertaken too late; shee came at least a moneth or six weekes later then the rest of the Fishing-Shippes, that went for that Coast; and by that meanes wanting Fish to make up her lading, the Master thought good to passe into *Mattachusetts* bay, to try whether that would yeeld him any, which he performed, and speeding there, better then he had reason to expect: having left his spare men behind him in the Country at *Cape Ann*, he returned to a late and consequently a bad market in *Spaine*, and so home. The charge of this Voyage, with provision for fourteene spare men left in the Countrey, amounted to above eight hundred pound, with the three hundred pound expended vpon the Shippe, mentioned before. And the whole provenue (besides the Ship which remained to us still)

months in fishing? whereas the others fish but four and have their ships lying dead in the harbour all the time whereas such shipping as belonged to Plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come."

amounted not to aboue two hundred pound . . .”¹⁹ Such is the tale of the venture of 1623; the ship first employed was called the *Fellowship*.²⁰

“The next yeare was brought to the former Ship a Flemish Fly-boat of about 140. tunnes, which being unfit for a Fishing Voyage, as being built meerly for burthen, and wanting lodging for the men which shee needed for such an employment, they added unto her another deck (which seldome proves well with Flemish buildings) by which meanes shee was carved so high²¹ that shee proved walt,²² and unable to beare any sayle:²³ so that before she could passe on upon her Voyage, they were faine to shift her first, and put her upon a better trimme, and afterwards that proving to little purpose to vnlade her, and take her vp and furre her.²⁴ Which notwithstanding it were performed with as much speede as might be, yet the yeare was aboue a moneth too far spent before she could dispatch to set to Sea againe. And when she arived in the Country, being directed by the Master of the smaller Ship (vpon the successe of his former yeares Voyage) to fish at *Cape Ann* not far from *Mattachusetts* Bay, sped very ill, as did also the smaller Ship that led her thither, and found little Fish, so that the greater Ship returned with little more then a third part of her lading: and came backe (contrary to her order by which she was consigned to *Bordeaux*) directly for *England*: so that the *Company of Adventurers* was put to a new charge to hire a small Shippe to carrie that little quantitie of Fish she brought Home to Market.”²⁵ The charge for the two ships on this voyage was 2,200^{li}, more than 800^{li} of this

¹⁹ *Planters Plea*, p. 39.

²⁰ *Weymouth Port Book*. No. 873.

²¹ Carved so high.—The Oxford English Dictionary gives cargued = charged, laden; and also High cargued? = high carved, but seems doubtful of its meaning; the context appears to indicate “riding too high out of water.”

²² Walt.—The dictionary meaning is “to overturn”; here it seems to mean “top-heavy.”

²³ *Planters Plea*, p. 14.

²⁴ Furre.—To fur is to clean off the fur of (a boiler); probably here = “to scour her keel”.

²⁵ *Planters Plea*, p. 40.

was spent in the alterations of the bigger ship. They left behind them in the country thirty-two men whose wages and provisions accounted for another 500^{li}, while the "provenue" of the voyages did not exceed 500^{li} at the most.²⁶

The ship sent the previous year was, we know, the *Fellowship*, but the name of the converted Flemish Fly-boat cannot be supplied, as the entry in the Weymouth Port Book is illegible. To this venture Bradford refers, as will be seen later.²⁷

Undiscouraged by the lack of success, the Dorchester Company tried again. "The third year, 1625, both ships with a small Vessell of fortie tuns which carried Kine with other prouisions²⁸ were againe set to Sea upon the same Voyage with the charge of two thousand pounds, of which summe the Company borrowed & became indebted for one thousand pounds and upwards. The great Ship being commanded by a uery able Master, hauing passed on about two hundred leagues in her Voyage, found herself so leake by the Carpenters fault, (that looked not well to her Calking) that she bare up the Helme and returned for Waymouth, & having unladen her provisions and mended her leake, set her selfe to Sea againe: resolving to take aduice of the Windes whether to passe on her former Voyage or to turne into New-found-land, which she did, by reason that the time was so far spent that the Master and Company dispaired of doing any good in *New England*: where the Fish falls in two or three months sooner then at *New-found-land*. There she tooke Fish good store and much more then she could lade home: the overplus should have been sold and deliuered to some sacke or other sent to take it in there, if the Voyage had beene well man-aged." What she was able to bring, with the fish in the other ships, had to be sold at a very low rate owing to the wars with Spain, and the markets in France were "over-laid"; the New England fish sold at about ten shillings the hundred by tale and the Newfound-land fish at six shillings. "By this reason the Fish which at a

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ See below.

²⁸ This is the first ship that White states carried kine and provisions.

Market in all likely-hood might have yielded well nigh two thousand pounds, amounted not with all the Provenue of the Voyage to aboue eleaven hundred pounds.”

To the account of this venture we are able to add a little information from the Weymouth Port Books. Sir Walter Erle and Company intended to ship six rother cattle, under a special warrant from the Privy Council, on the *Fellowship* of Weymouth, 35 tons, Edward Cribbe, master, sailing 23rd January, 1625/6. For some reason, probably because of the leak, they were taken out and shipped on the *Amytie*, 30 tons, Isacke Even, master, sailing on 27th February following. The *Amytie* made her home port about 1st August, 1625, and the *Fellowship* followed about 11th September. The amount of dry fish, corfish, train oil, quarters of oak and skins of “fox, racons, martyns, otter, muskuatche and beaver” unloaded by Richard Bushrod and Company and by William Derby and Company, were of considerable value, greater than White’s account leads us to expect.²⁹

It is possible that the Fly-boat was the *Pilgrime*, William Holmes, master, which reached Weymouth from Newfoundland on 1st October, laden with train oil, dry fish and cor-fish, for William Darby and Company. White says that the great ship took fish at

²⁹ *Ibid.* It should be noted that Bushrod’s business was that of a haberdasher and Derby’s, a mercer, so they were obviously acting on behalf of the Dorchester Company of which they were members. Some of the furs are entered as skins, the others as “coats”, presumably the latter were bought from the Indians who had made them up for their own wear.

About this same time certain members of the Dorchester Company did a little independent business in fishing. On 13th April, 1625, John Pitt of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis agreed with Thomas Symonds, a London merchant, to deliver 100,000 fish (six score and six counting as a hundred, at 7s per 100), “upon beach or rock in Newfoundland” and later another 100,000 which were to be neither “sun burned nor salt burned”. Pitt sent out the *Alce* [sic], William Osmond, master, and the *Hopewell*, Robert Dammon, gunmaster, each of 50 tons. He failed to supply the fish, and, he having died, an action was brought against his widow, Alice, and as she died, against their son Phineas. [Chancery Bills and Answers, Charles I., S 67/25.] It seems a vessel of this tonnage could lade 60,000 to 100,000 fish and required a crew of eighteen men. [Chancery Depositions, Mitchell v. Hull. 398/24.] See Pope Collection.

Newfoundland; no other cargo is mentioned in the Port Book as in other ships.³⁰ The reconstructed Flemish vessel would be probably renamed. The *Pilgrime* would have been appropriate.

The Weymouth Port Books definitely establish the fact that the ships employed by the Dorchester Company were the *Fellowship*, a Flemish Fly-boat (? the *Pilgrime*), and the *Amytie*.

They did not employ the *Charitie*.

The casual guess that the *Charitie* was the first ship sent out by the Dorchester Company has been so frequently repeated as undeniably true, that it will be difficult to correct this false assumption. It was based on the supposition that the Dorchester Company was subordinate to the Plymouth Planters, and has been quoted as proof positive of that fact. It has even been used as evidence that, as subordinates, the Dorchester Company showed base ingratitude to their benefactors. A clear exposition of the facts is therefore essential, but must be prefaced by a statement that the "voyage of discovery" was made by an unknown ship. It may have been that Bushrod and his associates induced a ship's master, sailing on a fishing voyage, to take some competent person to select a site for a settlement; it was after the formation of a company that a ship was bought. For brevity the identity of the Fly-boat and *Pilgrime* are accepted here.

The ships sent out by the Dorchester Company were:—

1623/4 The *Fellowship*.

1624/5 The *Fellowship* and the *Pilgrime*.

1625/6 The *Fellowship*, the *Pilgrime*, and the *Amytie*,
the latter laden with kine.

All these sailed from Weymouth.

James Sherley, agent for the Plymouth Plantation, resident in London, wrote on 25th January, 1623/4, that the Plymouth Adventurers had raised a new stock "for the setting forth of the ship called the *Charitie* with men and necessities for the planta-

³⁰ *Weymouth Port Book*, 873.

tion."³¹ This ship, after a voyage of *about* five weeks, reached Plymouth. She brought Winslow, the Sheffield Patent, Lyford and cattle. Altham says Winslow was at Cape Ann in April, 1624,³² so she would have sailed most probably from London, the nearest port to the agent's residence, about the middle of February, 1623/4. She "came on fishing, a thing fatal to this plantation."³² Her master was Baker, "a very drunken beast."³³ After discharging the supply, planters were sent to help the ship's company to build a stage at Cape Ann.³⁴ Owing to drunkenness the voyage was a failure. It is noticeable that no reference is made to the purchase of this ship—goods and men were sent by a ship engaged in fishing.

The *Charitie* carried cattle. The *Amytie*, in 1625/6, carried six rother beasts; the smaller vessel carried kine, as White records in a manner which suggests that this was their first attempt to transport them.

It must be quite evident that the *Charitie*, which served the Plymouth Plantation, cannot be identified with the *Fellowship*, the first ship sent out by the Dorchester Company; this cuts away the entire foundation upon which has been built the legend that the settlers at Cape Ann were allowed to establish a colony by permission of the Plymouth Colonists, and with it goes the suggestion that this independent company showed ingratitude to their Plymouth benefactors.

Several attempts have been made to force John White's account of the Dorchester Company's adventure to square with this preconceived idea; too frequently his accuracy has been called in question because his statement could not be made to agree with Bradford's account of his plantation.³⁵ But it should be noticed

³¹ Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, I. p. 354.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 353.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

³⁵ See *Ibid.*, pp. 353 *et seq.* in notes, Mr. Ford depending on the identity of the Dorchester Company's first ship with the *Charitie*, appears much puzzled by the inconsistencies, but obviously concludes that White has not expressed himself correctly.

that Bradford never mentions the Dorchester Company, Conant or any of those settled at Cape Ann beyond that he goes so far as to say that friends of Oldham and Lyford sent out a ship for fishing, and took possession of the Plymouth Planters' stage, at Cape Ann.

In concluding his account of the three voyages, White points out the following causes of their losses, which on his figures exceeded 3,200^{li}:—"the fall of the price of shipping which was now abated to more than one half, by which means it came to pass, that our Ships which stood us in little lesse then twelve hundred pounds were sold for foure hundred and eighty pounds . . . the ill choice of the place for fishing . . . and the ill carriage of our men at Lande."

Although as regards fishing the ventures proved failures they had, on the other hand, brought over a considerable number of settlers and provisions and implements: in this way was formed the nucleus of the colony which they desired to plant in New England. The "adventure", from this point of view, must presently be considered.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS

(1620-24)

"Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a TOLERATION hatch;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice."

THOMAS DUDLEY.

A BRIEF reference must be made to the early history of the Plymouth Plantation, familiar as it is, in order that the situation before and after the establishment of the Dorchester Company may be clearly understood.

The body of Separatists living at Leyden applied to the Virginia Company for license to settle within the territory under their jurisdiction, but, their religious tenets not meeting with the approval of those ruling that Company, their request was denied. Later John Wyncop succeeded in obtaining a grant without disclosing that it was asked on their behalf. He himself failed to emigrate, and for some reason the patent lapsed. A third attempt was successful as they continued to keep their Separatist tenets in the background, and the grant was made to John Peirce, "in whose name their first patent was taken,"¹ but at the moment of their arrival on the coast of Massachusetts that district was taken over by the newly-established Council for New England, necessitating the issue of another patent, from that body, which was also obtained in Peirce's name.

¹ Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, I. p. 306.

The subsequent difficulties between the Pilgrim Fathers and the patentee need not be given in detail, but Bradford's account should be compared with the sworn evidence in the lawsuit which ensued, and the wording of the settlement contained in the minutes of the Council for New England, should be carefully studied; that shows that it was Peirce who put forward a compromise, and that he was to relinquish only the rights to the territory upon which they had already settled. If his action had been so wholly unjustifiable as is generally represented, neither Sherley nor the Council would have accepted this settlement. It should also be mentioned that the assertion made by many later writers that the planters paid 500^{li} for his patent, is absolutely unsupported by a single scrap of evidence; it is founded only upon the statement in Cushman's letter, that he *valued* it at that sum.²

It is best to confine attention to such events at New Plymouth as have some bearing upon the Dorchester Company's settlement at Cape Ann, but the fact should be noted that many statements and charges made by Bradford have been wholly refuted by recent researches, while others must be modified. It must be borne in mind that Bradford lived too near the times, and took too prominent a part in the events, to allow of his placing matters in their proper perspective, and that, as far as religious questions were concerned, he was very strongly prejudiced.³

² For recent instances of this inaccurate statement see W. R. Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, I. 305, and the Table of Contents of Bradford's *History*, "Purchase of the Peirce Patent." For its refutation see Goodwin, *Pilgrim Republic*, 235; *Records of the Council for New England*, ed. Deane, p. 41. The John White mentioned in the lawsuit as an arbitrator elected by Peirce, *may* have been the minister, but it is more likely that it was the Counsellor.

³ He cannot, however, be acquitted of "editing" his own *Letter Book* in order to produce an impression favourable to his plantation. Mr. Ford has done a real service to history in supplying the omissions made;—important phrases are covered by an "etc.", and qualifying words are excised; moreover, many of those accused of grave offences were dead by the time he compiled his *History*, while the living witness at hand, Roger Conant, who was in a position to refute—and did so—imputations upon himself and his friends, is never named by Bradford. On the other hand, Hubbard's *History* has been discredited by modern writers, especially when he describes events from

Bradford's account of Weston and the "Particulars" is of importance for more than one reason. We are told that at first Weston was the Pilgrims' benefactor, but later, for his own financial gain, threw them over; suspicions concerning him were aroused, not only by his letters, but by the arrival of certain men he sent "on their particular;"⁴ others on their particular followed. Cushman enjoined Bradford to bind these by a firm agreement and then treat them liberally as it would be an advantage to have them as neighbours. Bradford complied, but soon complained bitterly of the discontent caused in the colony by the privileges enjoyed by these new-comers—certain of the "weaker sort" were finally allowed to join the "particulars" on condition of paying part of their profits towards the cost of their transportation, which had been borne by the company.⁵ He also wrote that many of these "particulars" were not weaned from home comforts; when some of them returned to England, the Governor expressed pleasure at seeing their backs.⁶ But their departure, over which he rejoiced, had serious consequences.

The boomerang, started when the Pilgrims obtained a patent without disclosing their religious opinions, had begun its homeward flight. Merchants had been induced to subscribe to their

a different point of view from Bradford's, regardless of the fact that he had dwelt in New England from 1635, and had opportunities in his adult years to obtain information at first-hand from Conant, Hilton and others, who had been at Plymouth; when he writes about that plantation, he scrupulously sets down Nathaniel Morton's version before he gives his own. He is the only early New England writer who supplies information about Cape Ann, Nahum-Keike and the doings of the Dorchester Company; his account is supplemented by White's *Planters Plea*, which, with certain documents, prove his accuracy in many details. Bradford merely refers to a fishing voyage by Lyford's and Oldham's friends; Winthrop ignores the existence of all plantations preceding his own. We must rely upon Hubbard also for Endecott's reign; Higginson gives his early experiences and Morton mentions the Browne episode and the establishment of Salem church.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

⁶ Bradford's Letter of 8th September, 1623, *American Historical Review*, VIII. p. 296.

undertaking as a business venture. Some, undoubtedly, had no sympathy with their extreme views; others, secretly more or less inclined to their "way," found it politic not to allow this to be publicly known. From a business point of view the first reports were not encouraging, and before long suspicions of the Pilgrims' purpose were awakened. Opposition to the emigration of other exiles at Leyden developed and dissatisfaction among the Adventurers was rife. Sherley's strenuous efforts to appease them, though having temporary success, failed. The rift widened; letters, open and secret, passed between London and Plymouth, and at length certain "anti-Leyden" Adventurers sent out Lyford to report on the religious position of the Planters, while protests from the Planters that they were not Separatists—doubtless with the mental reservation "from the Reformed Churches,"—were sent to England. The last straw appears to have been added by the returned "particulars," who loudly proclaimed, to the imminent danger of the Adventurers, the system of "rigid Separation" they had observed. This produced a letter from the discontented Adventurers, setting out the complaints of the "particulars" and demanding a reply to their charges.

This reached Plymouth at the moment when suspicions of Lyford had reached a climax—he had been considered a spy, and was suspected of exercising his office as a minister of the Church of England. His correspondence was so voluminous that the Governor decided to open some of his letters and keep copies of enough to incriminate him; the authorities then bided their time, as they had ground for believing he would deliver himself into their hands. Information reached them that he had gathered a company apart, and that he had, in fact, used the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer; indeed it was stated afterwards that he had baptized Hilton's child, which may well have been true, as Mrs. Hilton crossed in the same ship with him. Lyford was thereupon called to account before a full Court, and charged with acting as spy, which he denied; so he was confronted with his letters. Bradford states the substance of the charges against him,—the first three out of

six relate to the religious question, the rest concern the treatment of the "particulars." His most heinous offence was his "dissembling with them about the church." On admittance to their confidence, he had declared that "he held not himself a minister till he had a new calling, etc. And yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, sequestered himself; and would go minister the sacraments (by his Episcopal calling)."⁷ The Sacraments could not be so administered without the use of the Book of Common Prayer.⁸ At the very moment when Bradford was thus vehemently accusing Lyford of exercising his Episcopal calling, coupled with the three charges:—that they would have none but their own followers live on the plantation, that even honest men, not of the Separation, were quickly distasted, and that, on account of two doctrines they "excepted" against Lyford,—he wrote in reply to the Adventurers' questionnaire regarding "diversitie about re-

⁷ Bradford, *History*, I. p. 395.

⁸ It has been frequently denied that Lyford was accused because he used the Prayer Book—even recently by Mr. Ford in a note on Bradford [I. p. 402.] when contradicting Thomas Morton's statement:—"No acceptable evidence is available in proof that any difficulty arose between the Plymouth people and Lyford, because he used, or failed to use, the prayer book, and absence of any record of persecution for difference in belief or practice at New Plymouth, is against Morton's relation. The charge he made was an afterthought on his part, and intended to serve his individual purposes in 1633." He overlooks the significance of Bradford's own words, quoted above, for the Sacrament could not be administered "according to his Episcopal calling," without the use of the Book of Common Prayer. There is evidence also, that, at the time, it was believed that Lyford was driven out because of his religious opinions; Hubbard would have heard this from Conant and others who had been at Plymouth. It is a little disingenuous also to support Bradford's denial of the charge that the planters "distasted" even "honest men that are not of the Separation," by quoting evidence that the Leyden church, and by inference the Plymouth men, "made no schism or separation from the *Reformed Churches*," or the French and Dutch Churches [p. 389n], when the complaint was made by an Englishman to Englishmen, concerning Englishmen, so that the separation mentioned was understood as separation from the Church of England, and from that both the Leydeners and the Pilgrim Fathers had unquestionably separated themselves. Undoubtedly, Bradford made that same mental reservation in his denial. See also White's remarks on this point below.

ligion":—"We know no such matter, for here was never any controverſie or oppoſition, either public or private, (to our knowledge,) ſince we came."⁹

In the charges relating to the treatment of the "particulars," Oldham was involved; he had already been accused of being "an intelligencer to thoſe in England," and he had violently oppoſed the demands made to take his part in the watch, &c., probably on the ſcore that, as a "particular," he was not liable. He and Lyford were accounted "complices," and had plotted with great malignity. It is not neceſſary to enter into details, ſuffice it to ſay that, in the end, both Lyford and Oldham were expelled, and eventually went to Nantasket, deſcribed by Bradford as "an uncouth place" inhabited by "a ſtragling people"; among thoſe already ſettled there were Walter Knight and the brothers Thomas and John Gray.

But *audi alteram partem*. Lyford was here joined by certain who came over with him, and ſome of his moſt charitable friends, ignorant of his conduct in Ireland, Hubbard tells us, judged of him much better than he deſerved; both of him and Oldham they ſpoke quite contrary to Morton in his *Memorial*, maintaining that his greateſt error, for which he and the reſt were looked upon as ſuch great offenders, "was their antipathy againſt the way of ſeparation, wherein thoſe of Plymouth had been trained by Mr. Robinſon." Surviving friends, on their own knowledge, affirmed that both Lyford and Oldham were at leaſt ſeemingly religious, and the firſt quarrel was becauſe "of the baptizing of Mr. Hilton's child, who was not joined to the church at Plymouth, which if there were any tolerable ground that it ſhould paſs for truth, the terms of wickedneſs wherewith their practices are branded in *New England's*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 362. It is well to mention here that ſome diſapproval was implied, if not expreſſed, perhaps by "the weaker ſort," at the opening of Lyford's letters; as Bradford found it neceſſary to excuſe his action, "the Governor ſhewed the people he did it as a magiſtrate, and was bound to it by his place, to prevent the miſchief and ruin that this conſpiracy and plot of theirs would bring on their poor colony." *Ibid.*, p. 388.

Memorial, seem a little, if not much, too harsh, for, according to the old rule, *de mortuus nil nisi bene*, speak well of the dead."¹⁰

How many under such circumstances left Plymouth for religious reasons and followed the two offenders into exile is unknown, though Roger Conant was one who, out of sympathy, voluntarily removed to that place.

It was while this little band of outcasts was at Nantasket that the Dorchester Company heard of "some religious and well-affected persons that were lately removed out of New Plymouth out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation," whom they invited to remove to their settlement at Cape Ann.¹¹

And the fact that the rejected of Plymouth became the favoured of Cape Ann, requires something more than a passing comment.¹² The very important difference of opinion on questions of Church ceremonies and Church government existing between the two companies of early Adventurers, has not been sufficiently emphasized, with the result that the distinct line of cleavage has been blurred, if not completely ignored.

¹⁰ *History of New England*, p. 94.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹² No one can approve of Lyford's action in undertaking to enquire into the Pilgrims' form of worship and reporting privately on the same, nor of his public confession when at bay—no means of departing being available, he was obliged to remain with the brethren,—nor of his subsequent letter protesting that he had spoken the truth; but the evidence of immorality brought at Plymouth came from a "tainted witness." A wife's evidence was unacceptable in a court of law, but after these serious accusations, Mrs. Lyford accompanied her husband to Nantasket and Virginia. The more serious charge, brought before the Adventurers at a later date, of an offence committed while he was a minister to a body who had gone into exile in Ireland, was supported by sober and grave witness although no opportunity for cross-examination or rebuttal was given. Certainly, at the time when White heard of Lyford, these charges of immorality were not believed, even if known; he was represented as driven from Plymouth because he disapproved of the Separatist tenets held there, and friends among the Adventurers were ready to guarantee his good conduct—a minister holding opinions different from those existing at Plymouth, already in New England, must have appeared just the one suitable to care for the souls at the Dorchester Plantation, especially as he was recommended by Conant.

The Leyden exiles renounced the Church of England and all its works, both ceremonies and form of government, and became so entirely separated from it that the advanced section,—the rest not lagging far behind,—required an open verbal denunciation of the Church before admitting a person into their fellowship. These were the rigid Separatists, who conceived it an offence to listen to any Puritan preacher who had not publicly forsworn the Church of which he, and for that matter they, had been formerly members.

On the other hand there were many Churchmen, both cleric and lay, who, while recognizing and lamenting the state into which the Church had lapsed, believed that a determined effort by many members might cleanse the spotted garments of the Church, for which reason the name of Puritan in its original sense was applicable to them. The old days when the "Early Puritans" had tried to wash the stains from the rags of Popery, had passed though many wished to push the improvement of forms and ceremonies beyond the point they had reached; even such were permitted by a tolerant-minded prelate, to hold their livings or lectureships until some flagrant breach of the laws of the Church was brought to his notice, forcing him to take action against them. Evidence of this is found in the many cases in which a firebrand driven from one diocese remained, often for a considerable period, unmolested in another.¹³

But a change, foreseen by many of the Puritan clergy, was coming over the scene. A movement was on foot to prevent such laxity, but as yet the prime-mover was in the back ground, though making his presence felt. In 1620, the avowed Separatists, whose many breaches of ecclesiastical discipline had already forced them into exile at Leyden, established themselves at New Plymouth. In 1623 the Puritans, who had not separated themselves from the Church even so far as to have abandoned the use of the Prayer Book, had, in anticipation of the storm, started a colony at Cape Ann. There was a very sharp distinction between the two parties as regarded both ceremonies and forms of Church government. They were

¹³ See also White, *Planters Plea*, p. 36.

bitterly opposed to each other, but united in their hostility to the rigid disciplinarian who was now coming into power in England.

From a minor position held in 1621, Laud was advanced, by way of the bishopric of Bath in 1626, to the See of London in 1628,—these dates have an important bearing upon the settlements in New England—where the influence he had been gradually gaining made it possible for him to carry out his purpose of suppressing Puritanism by a strict enforcement of discipline. Almost immediately after his elevation to London, the movement began which resulted in the “Great Migration,” undertaken to escape his rigid demands for conformity.

Long afterwards, when Laud had suffered the extreme penalty, there raged a bitter controversy between the several sections now embraced under the general title of Non-Conformists.¹⁴ In this controversy the Plymouth planters repudiated the name of “rigid Separatists,” maintaining that theirs was not only the faith but the form of Church government originally delivered to the Saints, and that the Church of England had separated itself therefrom, while those who still clung to a purified Church service, developed, among other things, the “Directory for Public Worship,” in place of the Prayer Book. But meanwhile, in New England, the battle of the Puritans on the North Shore against the Separatist proselytizers of the Plymouth Plantation, had been fought and lost at Salem before the “halfway” party, if we may coin the phrase, had settled at Boston. These later emigrants were gradually drawn towards the Pilgrim Fathers to such an extent, that the line of demarcation became impossible to trace. Long before that point was reached, John White, dissatisfied with the trend of religious opinion there, as will be seen, ceased to take active part in the affairs of the Colony of Massachusetts.

¹⁴Strictly speaking this name is applied to those who refused to obey the Act of Uniformity in 1660; before that “inconformable clerks” are mentioned.

CHAPTER IX

NANTASKET AND CAPE ANN

(1625)

“So many adventures had been made, and so many losses sustained and received, that all, or the most part, that tasted thereof grew weary, till now it is found by our constant perseverance therein that some profit, by a course of fishing upon that coast may be made extraordinary.”

SIR FERDINANDO GORGES.

AMONG those “well-affected persons” at Nantasket was, as has been said, Roger Conant, a man destined to play an important part in the settlements on the North Shore.

It is known that he emigrated to Plymouth and according to his own deposition dated “1st 4th mo. 1671” he had been a planter in New England for forty-eight years and three months, which fixes his arrival in April, 1623.¹ His brother Christopher arrived there in the *Anne* about July of the same year and received an allotment of land. As Roger does not appear as a passenger on that ship or among those to whom land was granted it is quite possible that he was one of those who went over “on their particular” as others did about the same time. Confirmation of this suggestion may perhaps be found in the fact that in spite of his connexion with the “Standish incident” and that he was the governor of the colonies at Cape Ann and at Salem, Bradford in the whole of his *History* never so much as mentions his name—as an abhorred Par-

¹ *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, xvii. p. 336.

ticular, afterwards associated with the exiled villains who held different religious opinions from his own, the Governor would not naturally mention Conant.

Roger Conant was born at East Budleigh, in Devonshire, the birthplace of Sir Walter Raleigh; perhaps fired by the deeds of their fellow-villager the brothers sought adventures in the New World, but evidently the younger, Roger, was of firmer stuff than Christopher, who after a few years' experience, returned to England. But before their emigration they had both gone to London to seek their fortunes, Christopher as a grocer and Roger, familiar with the salterns near his home, as a salter, both becoming livery men of those city companies, both residing in St. Lawrence Jewry, and both of sufficient standing to act as bondsmen for their clerical brother John in 1620.

But already, in 1618, Roger had married Sarah Horton of St. Ann's, Blackfriars. It is quite likely that on some of his visits to that parish, about the time of his marriage or later, Roger Conant came in contact with Thomas Weston, who at first assisted the Plymouth Planters and later endeavoured to settle an independent plantation, and in this way may have been opened up a prospect of adventure in New England attractive to Roger.

Early in the time after his landing, the settlement at Cape Ann seems to have attracted Roger's attention, holding out a promise of success when, having thrown in his lot with the exiles at Nantasket, he was seeking a place for permanent residence. At all events we know that a letter he wrote to his brother John Conant, rector of Lymington, Somerset, was shown to John White, with the result that the Dorchester Company, Hubbard tells us, having heard of "some religious and well-affected persons that were lately removed out of Plymouth out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation" invited these to remove to their settlement on Cape Ann. He further informs us that this party, who had reached Nantasket in or about July, 1624, did not remain there long,— "only for the space of a year and a few months, till a door was opened for them at Cape Ann, a place on the other side of the bay

(more convenient for those that chose to dwell in the tents of Issachar) whither they had removed about the year 1625.”²

It has already been stated that fourteen men were left at Cape Ann by the ships in 1623, and that thirty-two more were added the following season. It has been so frequently reiterated that these Dorchester men were allowed to establish their plantation here by permission of the Plymouth Colonists, as undertenants, that it is important to review the evidence for and against this contention.

It must be said first of all that Bradford himself never made any such claim in all his *History*. It will also be seen from his letter of 8th September, 1623, that he was at that date seeking a patent for territory already occupied by Dorchester men. Had these made an agreement or received even verbal permission Bradford was not the man to be silent about it when the dispute arose over a “stage” at Cape Ann. The insolence of tenants not permitting their overlords to set up a fishing work would have been denounced in no measured terms as another grievance of the downtrodden Pilgrims. When it came to the point the fire-eating Standish was meekly told not to fight for their stage although the Dorchester men “by violence and force had taken at their pleasure our possessions at Cape Ann,” and had declared that if the Plymouth men grew to any good estate “they would nip us in the head.” Never a word about these men being in any way under obligation to the Pilgrim Fathers, when a natural reference would have been made to biting the hand that fed them. Nor, moreover, when the Plymouth colonists obtained a grant from Lord Sheffield, was any effort made to remove the interlopers.³

For positive evidence of the subordinate position held by the West Countrymen is advanced a paragraph in the folio edition,

² Hubbard, *History*, p. 102. “Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven of ships; and his border shall be in Zidon. Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens; and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.”—*Genesis*, xlix, 13–15.

³ See below, p. 88.

issued early in 1624, of Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, containing these words: "At Cape Ann there is a plantation beginning by the Dorchester men, which hold of those of New Plymouth, who already by them have set up a Fishing Work." To begin with there is a vagueness about the meaning of the words "by them"—whether "beside them" or "by their permission." But to test the authority for the statement the circumstances must be considered. The *Generall Historie* terminates on page 244 with these words: "John Smith writ this with his owne hand"; then are added two postscripts, the first headed: "Here follo certaine notes and observations of Captain Charles Whitborne concerning New Foundland." This should read Captain *Richard* Whitborne. A separate folio, quite independent of the last gathering, contains the other postscript, in which the paragraph in question occurs, and this is headed: "The present state of New Plymouth." This reads like a letter and at the bottom are only the initials, "J. S." Smith had been in England for some time previous to the publication of his book and could only know the present state of affairs from another.

Now consider the dates. The book was issued "in the early spring of 1624," not later, it may be assumed, than the middle of April, as that is halfway through the three spring months. On 8th September, 1623,⁴ Bradford wrote asking to have a charter for Cape Ann obtained. Sheffield's grant was issued 1st January, 1623/4,—until that was received in April the Plymouth men possessed no authority to give permission to the Dorchester men and even if a vessel had sailed the next day, news could not have reached England until towards the end of May, a month at least after the date of the publication of the *Generall Historie*.⁵ If, however, the

⁴ Bradford, *Letter Book*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 244–247. The folio edition of 1624 is rare. The British Museum copy is G 7037. Christopher Levett makes a similar mistake; he says they of New Plymouth had one ship at Pemaquid "and another at Cape Ann where they have begun a new plantation, but how long it will continue I know not" (*Maine Historical Collections*, II, p. 92). The complete independence of the Dorchester Company of the Plymouth men is proved by the law-suit quoted below, (p. 99).

initials "J. S." stand for James Sherley the matter is easily explained. He knew that the grant had been issued and was aware that fourteen Dorchester men were "inhabiting" Cape Ann, and that this would prevent the Plymouth men from implementing their charter.⁶ What is more likely than that he inserted the ambiguous sentence that, when in print, it might be produced in support of the Plymouth claim?

As evidence that the Dorchester men held of the Pilgrim Fathers, this paragraph from Smith's *Generall Historie* is valueless, but as showing that the Dorchester planters were already known to be planting on Cape Ann it is well worth recording.

Hubbard's account of the Cape Ann settlement was received, it is believed, from members of the colony personally known to him, and is therefore worthy of credence.

He tells us that certain Merchants from the West of England were the first to erect stages at Cape Ann for "making fish," having made annual voyages for a considerable time, until the fame and success of the Plymouth plantation had spread through the western counties so far that it began to revive the hopes of some of them, who had not long before adventured their estates in the honourable design of planting and peopling the New World, although, having had small encouragement in their attempt, they were ready to withdraw their hands.

On this consideration, some merchants and other gentlemen about Dorchester about 1624, "at the instigation of Mr. White, the famous preacher of that town," united in a common stock with those who went over to make fish, and sent over sundry persons to carry on a plantation at Cape Ann, "conceiving that planting on the land might go on equally with fishing on the sea in those parts of America."⁷

They employed John Tilly to oversee the fishing and Thomas

⁶ See below, p. 88.

⁷ *History of New England*, pp. 101 *et seq.* Hubbard's remarks show that the Western Merchants had already undertaken planting before the Plymouth success was known.

Gardner the planting on the mainland, for at least a year; at the end of that time, Mr. White and the other Adventurers, heard "of some religious and well-affected persons, that were lately removed out of New Plymouth out of dislike of their religious principles of rigid separation;" of these Roger Conant, "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman, yet surviving about Salem till the year 1680, wherein he finished his pilgrimage," had a great hand in these transactions about Cape Ann. They pitched upon Conant "for the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Ann."

They had heard of Conant from his brother, John Conant, who was well known to Mr. White. He was so well satisfied concerning him, that he instructed Mr. Humfry, the treasurer of the Joint Adventurers, to write in their names, that they desired him to be the governor of their plantation, and would "commit to him the charge of all their affairs, as well fishing as planting."

They also invited Mr. Lyford, lately dismissed from Plymouth, to be their minister, and Mr. Oldham, dismissed on a like account from the same place, to trade for them with the Indians; these three were at that time dwelling at Nantasket. Mr. Lyford and Mr. Conant accepted, but Mr. Oldham preferred to stay where he was for a while, to trade on his own account, and not become liable to render an account of his gain and loss. That there were other than these three settled at Nantasket, appears from Hubbard's statement elsewhere, that thither "some of his most charitable friends repaired with him,"⁸ and, from the words used above, it is evident that some of these went to Cape Ann.

The point selected for the Dorchester plantation, White says was "within the bosom of the Cape." Levett, describing his visit to the New World, writes:—"yet was I never at the Massachusetts, which is counted the paradise of New England, nor at Cape Ann, but I fear there has been too fair a gloss set on Cape Ann. I am told there is a good harbour which makes a fair invitation, but, when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground;" he adds that the ships fishing there in

⁸ Op. cit., p. 98.

1622/3, sent their boats twenty miles to take fish, and then had great fear of "making their voyage," as one master confessed to Levett. Champlain, on one of his maps, styles the harbour "le beau port." Bradford, in 1623, when trying to obtain another patent to enlarge their possessions, desires to have "the wester-side" of Cape Ann, "which we know to be as good a harbour as any in this land, and is thought to be as good fishing place; and seeing fishing must be the chief, if not the only means to do us good: and it is like to be so fit a place, and lieth so near us: we think it very necessary to use all diligence to procure it."⁹ He suspected that their former request for it had been prevented from being delivered. Weston, he says, was desirous to get it before them, so had written, and also Thompson, which was a special motive in moving them to send over Winslow, who, in fact, obtained an indenture from Lord Sheffield covering this district, dated 1st January, 1623/4. Hubbard describes this as a "useless patent," which, it will be seen, it proved.

A study of this document ¹⁰ discloses that it merely dealt with certain lands "whereof Lord Sheffield is or hath been possessed, or which have been allotted to him . . . or within his jurisdiction, (not now being inhabited, or hereafter to be inhabited by any English)." It is in effect the transference to Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow of rights in certain lands purporting to have been granted to Sheffield by the Council for New England. He made the customary payment of 110^{li} on 27th November, 1622, and probably received a grant of which no record exists,—even the ground it covered cannot be more than guessed at, for this indenture places it far distant from the territory allotted to Lord Sheffield on 23rd June, 1623, as shown on the map then prepared. Indentures and licences, in similar form, were issued by the Council for New England to Peirce, Bushrod and others, and probably by Warwick to Robert Gorges.¹¹

⁹ Letter of 8th September, 1623.

¹⁰ The indenture is given at length in Thornton, *Landing at Cape Ann*.

¹¹ See p. 176.

The proviso that the land should not be already inhabited by English, barred any right to Cape Ann that might be based on this indenture. Already, as has been said, fourteen men had been left to inhabit there as early as 1623 by the Western merchants; the Plymouth planters, although they had exercised the privilege of all fishermen to erect stages and cure fish, had settled no men at this point. From Bradford we learn that Winslow brought this "charter" in March-April, 1623/4, his departure having been delayed because certain adventurers would not further the emigration of the exiles remaining at Leyden; "the business was so retarded as not only they were fallen too late for the fishing season, but the best men were taken up of the fishermen in the *west countrie*,"¹² so he was forced to employ the drunken master, Baker, with the result that, when they crossed to Cape Ann, they found their fishing-stage already in the hands of others. Their claim under Sheffield's grant was therefore hopeless—a fact they recognized by refusing to fight those in possession, either by arms or in the law-courts; they were not men who relinquished easily anything to which they could establish a claim. However, when seeking assistance from the Council for New England, they went so far as to complain that some of their own adventurers had not only cast them off, but had prevented the Plymouth planters from dealing with others who had "entered into particular courses of trading, and have by *violence and force taken at their pleasure, our possessions at Cape Ann*. Traducing us with unjust and dishonest clamours abroad, disturbing our peace at home, and some of them threatening that, if ever we grow to any good estate, they will nip us in the head."¹³ These possessions can be no other than the stage and fishing gear mentioned below. If further corroboration of the total independence and hostility of the Dorchester men as regards the Pilgrims were required, this and the following tale furnish it. The episode has been quaintly described by Hubbard, and bitterly recorded by

¹² Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, I. p. 354.

¹³ Bradford, *Letter Book*, p. 37. *Adventurers* here refers to members of the company in England.

Bradford. The latter states that after the "storm" occasioned by the doings of "the complices" had blown over, "some of Lyfords and Oldhams friends and their adherents, set out a ship on fishing on their own account, and getting the start of the ships that came to the plantation, they took away their stage, and other necessary provisions that they had made for fishing at Cap-Anne the year before, at their great charge, and would not restore the same, except they would fight for it. But the Governor sent some of the planters to help the fishermen to build a new one, and so let them keep it."¹⁴

From the fact that fishermen and planters were sent from Plymouth, it is to be inferred that none of their company were "inhabiting" there.

But the remarkable fact about this account is that no mention is made of Conant or the magnanimous conduct he displayed, in spite of the bad treatment he had received at the hands of the Plymouth planters—a magnanimity that might well have been imitated in recording the events.¹⁵ Nor does Bradford refer to the Captain's truculent conduct. Indeed, the whole scene assumes a different aspect when Hubbard's account, probably given him by Conant himself, is read.

"In one of the fishing voyages about the year 1625,¹⁶ under the charge and command of one Mr. Hewes, employed by some of the west country merchants, there arose a sharp contest between the said Hewes and the people of New Plymouth, about a fishing stage, built the year before about Cape Ann by Plymouth men, but was now in the absence of the builders, made use of by Mr. Hewes his company, which the other, under the conduct of Captain Standish, very eagerly and peremptorily demanded: for the company of New Plymouth, having themselves obtained an useless patent for Cape

¹⁴ Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, I. p. 374. This incident would have been impossible if the Dorchester men held of Plymouth.

¹⁵ J. B. Felt gives Conant high praise for his magnanimity on this occasion. [*New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, II. p. 236.]

¹⁶ Hubbard's date is approximate; Bradford fixes the date as 1624.

Ann, about the year 1623, sent some of the ships which the adventurers employed to transport passengers over to them, to make fish there, for which end they had built a stage there, in the year 1624.^e The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter, had not the prudence and consideration of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirce his interposition, that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented. For Mr. Hewes had barricadoed his company with hogsheads on the stagehead, while the demandants stood upon the land, and might easily have been cut off, but the ship's crew, by advice, promising them to help them build another, the difference was thereby ended. Capt. Standish had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered the school of our Saviour Christ, or of John Baptist, his harbinger; or if he was ever there, had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contend for the coat. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled, and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched."¹⁷

Stage Head, the name of a promontory above Gloucester Harbour is supposed to have been the scene of this incident, while "fisherman's field", mentioned in a grant of 1642, is thought to be the spot where the attempted land settlement was made. Although in modern times a resident described this as an ideal place for combining fishing and agriculture,¹⁸ the incompatibility of these occupations proved insurmountable at the time of the first settlement.

¹⁷ *History of New England*, p. 110. Can this have been Hewson, not Hewes, who was captain of a vessel in early times? Robinson writes of Standish, that the Lord had provided him for much good "if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you and towards all in ordinarie course." [Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, I. p. 368.] In this letter Robinson was lamenting that certain Indians had been killed by Standish.

¹⁸ Thornton, *Landing at Cape Ann*, p. 84; letter from J. J. Babson.

It was while the pioneers were still at Cape Ann that Tilly helped himself to some salt left by the *Zouche Phoenix* party, who had built storehouses on an island close at hand; as the occupation of the mainland carried with it the right to adjacent islands, it is questionable whether they were legally entitled to use them thus.¹⁹

White explains why the undertaking at Cape Ann proved a failure; "our Land-Men, being ill-chosen and ill-commanded, fell into many disorders and did the Company little service;" besides there was "first, the ill choice of the place for fishing"; next, the ill-carriage of the "men at land", for "rarely any Fishermen will work at Land, neither are Husband-men fit for Fishermen but with long use and experience."²⁰ The result of this venture, after two and a half years of labour and the cost of well nigh a thousand pounds, was not one hundred pounds profit.²¹ Yet they had laid the foundation of a colony in New England by placing settlers on the coast. The number actually planted at Cape Ann before the removal to Nahum-Keike cannot be accurately stated; there were fourteen left in 1623, thirty-two in 1624, and to these were added those from Nantasket,—Conant, Knight, the two Grays and Lyford, accounting for fifty-one at the time of the Standish incident; but how many more joined them before the settlement was abandoned is unknown. The grandson of John Balch, one of the Old Planters, stated that two hundred men had been employed at Cape Ann by the Dorchester Company.²²

"But after a year's experience," Hubbard says, "the adventurers, perceiving their design not like to answer their expecta-

¹⁹ The fact that the Plymouth planters were not included as defendants in the ensuing law-suit, is further proof that they possessed no overlordship regarding the Dorchester settlement.

²⁰ *Planters Plea*, p. 42.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41. Winslow writes:—"three things are the overthrow and bane . . . of Plantations," the vain expectation of present profit; Ambition in their Governors and the carelessness of those that send over supplies of men, not caring how they are qualified. He beseeches these "to be truly careful in sending such as may further, and not hinder, so good an action." [*Good News from New England.*]

²² *An Old Planter*, p. 28.

tions, at least as to present advantage, threw all up; yet were so civil to those that were employed under them, as to pay them all their wages, and offered to transport them back whence they came, if so desired.”²³ White puts it:—“The adventurers were so far discouraged, that they abandoned the further prosecution of their design, and took order for the dissolving of the Company on land, and sold away their Shipping and other Provisions.”²⁴

So ended the attempt of the Dorchester Company to establish a colony at Cape Ann. Nevertheless, John White, undaunted, with a chosen few of the Company, made a further effort to form a settlement in the vicinity, encouraged thereto by a suggestion made by Roger Conant.

For some time the latter had “disliked the place, as much as the adventurers disliked the business”, and so cast about to find a more suitable situation for a plantation, “secretly conceiving in his mind, that in following times, (as since is fallen out) it might prove a receptacle for such as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world, of which he gave some intimation to his friends in England.”

His scheme was laid before John White, who, “being grieved in spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Mr. Conant, not so to desert his business; faithfully promising, that if himself with three others, (whom he knew to be honest and prudent men,) viz. John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Palfreys, employed by the adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, [the place selected by Conant] and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provisions, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians.”²⁵

It was to further this undertaking that, in 1627, White started a joint adventure with Richard Bushrod, Gilbert Loder, William

²³ *History of New England*, p. 107.

²⁴ *Planters Plea*, p. 41.

²⁵ Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 107.

Derby, Bernard Toup, George Way and Richard Bury, all of Dorchester, and John Conant, Rector of Lymington, Somerset, (brother of Roger), Henry Manifold of Long Burton, and Morgan Hayne, a native of Dorchester, but at that time living elsewhere.²⁶

White records that "most part of the Land-men, being sent for, returned; but a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind and take charge of the Cattle sent over the year before; which they performed accordingly; and not liking their seat at Cape Anne, chosen especially for the supposed commodity of fishing, they transported themselves to Nahum-Keike."

He himself took a philosophical view of the situation, calling to mind that "experience hath taught us that as in building houses the first stones of the foundation are buried under ground and are not seen, so in planting Colonies the first stocks employed that way are consumed, although they serve for a foundation to the work."²⁷

What they proceeded to build upon this foundation has now to be described.

²⁶ See Appendix III.

²⁷ *Planters Plea*, p. 42.

CHAPTER X

NAHUM-KEIKE

1626

“We . . . shall reare again, such Marchants Shippes both tall and stout, as no Foraine Sayle that swimmes, shall make them vaile or stoope: wherein to make this little Northerne Corner of the World, to be in short time the richest store-house and staple for Marchandize. . . .”

NOVA BRITANNIA.

THE point selected by Roger Conant for the new settlement was “a more commodious place near adjoining, on the other side of a creek, called Naumkeag, a little to the westward, where was much better encouragement as to the design of a plantation, than that which they had attempted before, at Cape Ann.”¹

It is called by White “Nahum-Keike” and is said to be four or five leagues to the southwest of Cape Ann.² He rather quaintly suggests that its name indicates some association of the Indians with the Lost Tribes of Israel. “Some conceive, their [the Indians] Predecessors might have had some commerce with the Iewes in times past, by what means I know not: Howsoever it bee, it falls out that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, prooves to be perfect Hebrew, being called *Nahum Keike*, by interpretation, *The bosome of consolation*: which it were pittie

¹ Hubbard, *History*, p. 107.

² *Planters Plea*, p. 42.

that those which observed it not, should change into the name of *Salem*, though upon a faire ground, in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a generall meeting betweene them and their neighbours, after expectance of some dangerous jarre.”³

Doubtless he looked upon the name as of good omen for the new settlement, expecting that they would be consoled for their losses. The change of name took place in 1629, at the suggestion of Francis Higginson, and by that time we may fairly assume that such consolation, though not of a financial kind, had been received.

Writing a few years earlier, Captain John Smith tells us that “*Naiemkeek*, though it be more rocky ground, for *Angoan* is sandy, is not much inferior neither for the harbour, nor anything I could perceiue but the multitude of people; from thence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Trabigzanda*, now called *Cape An*, fronted with three *Iles* wee call the three *Turks heads*.”⁴

Eight years after the move was made, Wood describes *Salem*; it “standeth on the middle of a neck of land very pleasantly, having a South river on the one side, and a North river on the other side. Upon this neck where most of the houses stand, is very bad and sandy ground. Yet for seven years together, it hath brought forth exceeding good corn, by being fished but every third year. In some places is very good ground and very good timber, and divers springs, hardby the seaside.”⁵

Writing about 1677, Hubbard says that the colonists removed, “being invited by the accommodation they either saw or hoped to find on the other side of a creek near by, called *Naumkeag*, which afforded a considerable quantity of planting land near adjoining thereto. Here they took up their station upon a pleasant and fruitful neck of land environed with an arm of the sea on each

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ *Generall Historie of Virginia*, p. 214.

⁵ *New Englands Prospect*, 1634, (Prince Society), p. 48. “In New England they doe manure their over worne fields by sticking at every plant of corne a herring or two; which cometh in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to do with.” Smith, *Advertisement for the Unexperienced*, p. 53.

side, in either of which vessels and ships of good burthen might safely anchor."⁶

Here, it has in recent times been pointed out, they would find wider and better pasturage for their few cattle in the open season, and a more abundant and more easily procured supply of hay and fodder for the severe winter months. Corn and tobacco could be raised in the more easily worked soil; hogs could find sustenance on the clams and mussels of the beach or on the mast in the woods; and in this district the Indians had been nearly exterminated.⁷

Such advantages as it possessed over the bleak coast of Cape Ann made it a more suitable place for the little colony which sought its shelter; still, to pass the winter even here daunted some of the less stout-hearted, making them more ready to listen to a tempting proposal. "Yet it seems, before they received any return according to their desires, the three last mentioned [Woodbury, Balch, and Palfrey] began to recoil, and repenting of their engagement to stay at Naumkeag, for fear of the Indians, and other inconveniences, resolved rather to go to Virginia, especially because Mr. Lyford, their minister, upon a loving invitation, was thither bound."⁸

The fear of the Indians could have been but an excuse, for Humphry Woodbury in after years testifies to their friendliness, saying they never molested the settlers, but rather sought their protection from other Indians and freely gave the white men leave to build and plant.

"But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superior instinct, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were; yea though all the rest should forsake him;

⁶ *History of New England*, p. 101. Maverick, in his *Briefe Description of New England*, believed to have been written in 1660, says: "It is very commodious for fishing, and many Vessells have been built there and (except Boston) it hath as much Trade as any place in New England both inland and abroad." *New England Historic-Generalogical Register*, 39, p. 38.

⁷ See Woodbury, *Old Planter*.

⁸ Hubbard, *History*, p. 108.

not doubting, as he said, but if they departed, he should soon have more company.”⁹

Struck by his sturdy independence and consistency, and by his firm faith in the future prosperity of the plantation and influenced by the arguments he used, the others became convinced that it was best to stay with him, so relinquished their purpose to go to Virginia and Lyford sailed without them.¹⁰

Long years afterwards, when petitioning the General Court to change the name of Beverley—for inadequate reasons as we now think—Conant recalled this incident. Referring to the founding and carrying on of the colony, he says:—“When in the infancy thereof, it was in great hassard of being deserted I was a means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were heere with me, and that by my utter deniall to goe away with them, who would haue gon either for England or mostly for Virginia, but hereupon stayed to the hassard of our liues.”¹¹ He would have echoed the words of Bacon, “It is the sinfulllest thing in the world to forsake or desert a plantation once in forwardness.”

Nor was his faith in Divine Providence wholly unrewarded. “But that God, who is ready to answer his people before they call, as he had filled the heart of that good man, Mr. Conant, in New England with courage and resolution to abide fixed in his purpose, notwithstanding all opposition and persuasion, he met with to the contrary, had also inclined the hearts of several others in England, to be at work about the same design.”¹²

Before the winter of 1626 set in, the move to Nahum Keike had

⁹ *Ibid.* Felt says:—“He had taken his position, and pledged his faith conditionally, that there he would stand, though perils from savages and hardships of a new settlement clustered around.” *New England Genealogical Register*, II. p. 237.

¹⁰ Mr. Ford, in his note to Bradford’s *History*, I. p. 418 seems to have inferred too much from Hubbard’s statement, assuming that all but the three named sailed with Lyford, for it is quite certain that more than four planters moved to Salem. See the Depositions of 1680, quoted in Thornton’s *Landing at Cape Ann*, pp. 79, *et seq.*

¹¹ F. Odell Conant, *History of the Conant Family*, p. 116.

¹² Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 108.

been accomplished; shelter of some sort had been provided and the sturdy pioneers would have cheered each other during the long, cold evenings, by talking of the arrival of the ships in the spring, which would bring them not only supplies and men but a patent to secure them in the possession of their land.

Meanwhile the affairs of the Dorchester Company were in a state of confusion, and the small group already mentioned, who had taken on the task, found themselves unable to fulfil all their promises. White records that the Joint Adventurers of the Dorchester Company in this design "having spent and lost about 3,000^{li}, and thereupon being weary of adventuring in that kind by reason of their losses and finding much difficulty in accomplishing their purpose they the said adventurers in the third yeare of your Majestie's reign [1627] did forbear any further to adventure in New England for their ioynnt accompt and thereupon the said Plantacion was dissolved and deserted by the said ioynnt adventurers."¹³ Continuing the history of events elsewhere he writes:—"Some then of the *Adventurers* that still continued their desire to set forwards the Plantation of a *Colony* there: conceiving that if some more Cattell were sent over to those few Men left behinde: they might not onely by a meanes of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the Country: but of inviting some other of their Friends and Acquaintance to come over to them: adventured to send over twelue Kine and Bulls more."¹⁴

The transportation of these cattle had been duly authorized by the Privy Council, permission being granted to Sir Walter Erle, Sir Richard Strode and others, who had doubtless applied for it before the Dorchester Company was dissolved and now transferred the cattle or the privilege to export, to the smaller body, that they might, in the words of the licence, freely "transporte out of this kingdom, vnto the Plantation of New England, the number of twentie Rother Catell, by the increase whereof tillage might be furthered, and the Planters enabled, by this meanes, in some reasonable tyme,

¹³ See below.

¹⁴ *Planters Plea*, 43.

to subsist of themselves, without transportation of victualls out of this kingdome for their sustentation.”¹⁵

The arrival of this ship in the spring, even though it brought cattle and, presumably, supplies and men, brought also sad news to the Old Planters, which caused them bitter disappointment, for their friends in England had failed to obtain for them the promised patent. They had tested the site chosen, their cattle thrived,¹⁶ their maize flourished, timber was plentiful and all things pointed to the desirability of making this a permanent settlement; its very success increased the danger of having the place wrested from them by some new patent, so they considered it very important that some one of them should go to England to urge this matter and to make a favourable report of the situation. On this mission they decided to send John Woodbury.¹⁷ His son, Humphry Woodbury, in an affidavit made in 1680, states that his father had been sent out to Cape Ann by the Dorchester Company in a ship conveying cattle in or about the year 1624, and that some three years later he was sent back at the instance of “some that Intended to settle a Plantation about 3 leagues west of Cape Ann, to further that designe.” William Trask accompanied him, and they sailed from Cape Ann in the autumn of 1627, probably in the ship sent out by the Dorchester men in charge of their factor, John Watts; if so their experiences must have been somewhat unpleasant, as will be gathered from the account of this venture.

On this visit to Cape Ann,¹⁸ Watts found some salt upon an

¹⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council*, Colonial, p. 97. Rother cattle are horned beasts.

¹⁶ It is recorded that the kine grew into greater bulk in New England than in Old.

¹⁷ He may have been selected because he desired to bring out his family.

¹⁸ The following account of experiences connected with salt is compiled from records of several lawsuits found in:—*Court of Requests* (Uncalendared) Bundle XVI. part ii. ditto Bundle 676, *Court of Request Decrees*, Book 35, fol. 314v, *Chancery Bills and Answers*, Charles I, 1636, Beale v. Dashwood. I am indebted to Colonel C. E. Banks for certain transcripts—one of many kindnesses I wish to acknowledge. One of those documents has been printed at length in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 3rd series, vol. 43, with

island off Cape Ann which island, according to custom, the colonists considered, belonged to their settlement upon the mainland; requiring salt for the fish obtained, Watts proceeded to use this, but it had so far lost its savour that the bulk of his cargo becoming putrid, he was forced to jettison it.

Those who owned the salt brought an action against Watts and his principals, from which, besides much other valuable information, we learn that Henry Beale and Peter Lennarts,¹⁹ in November, 1623, "did fraught and lade the good shipp called the Souches ffenix of London" with salt, boats, nets and other provisions for a fishing voyage "to that part of America called New England." This ship sailed under John Angell, master, with Edward Beale, brother of the said Henry, as purser, but, as might have been expected considering the date, before their arrival at that port the "best time of the fishing season for that year was past." Thereupon Angell and Beale erected one or more storehouses at or near a place called Cape Ann, and there did unlade and store the remainder of their provisions consisting of one hundred and seventy-one hogsheads of Bay salt, eleven fishing boats and shallops, with other necessary implements for fishing, expecting all to remain in safety for their future use. Not long after, they freighted another ship for this "Port of Cape Ann," though not including so many necessary provisions because of the stores on the island. On their arrival they found, to their dismay, that the buildings had been broken into and the goods stolen; they were told that John Watts had given out that he had bought them, a statement the plaintiffs denied. The

the exception of the list of members of the Dorchester Company; these names have been given, somewhat incorrectly, in *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, vol. 61, p. 278, and in *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, 17, p. 107. Oddly enough two curious slips appear in both these transcripts and are also found in the Pope MSS. vol. VI. p. 350, which suggests that they were copied from Mr. Pope's transcript.

¹⁹ Peter Lennarts the elder had died before the date of this document, and the suit was carried on by his executor. His will was proved 30th March, 1636, [P.C.C. 26 Russell] by his cousin Peter Lennarts the younger; the elder is described as of St. Botolph's Aldersgate, London.

earliest date of documents in these several cases is 29th April, 1635. From the reply made on 12th October, 1635, by John White, the chief of the defendants, we learn that more than eleven years previously divers knights, gentlemen and others "joined together in purse as Joint-stock Adventurers for the settling of a plantation in New England for the better and more convenient taking and saving of fish of the seas of those parts and for bartering and exchanging commodities with the natives," in which design they spent and lost 3,000 li. Becoming weary of such adventuring and the difficulty in accomplishing their purpose, they did forbear further to adventure on their joint account in the 3d year of King Charles [1627], as far as White could remember, whereupon the plantation was "dissolved and deserted by the Joint Adventurers." White had heard, he declared, that about the year 1625, one John Tilly, now resident, he believed, in New England, and some others employed by the Joint Adventurers, but without their order or knowledge, did take some salt, which, rumour said, had been left at Cape Ann by the Master of the *Zouch Phoenix*, but White protested that members of the New Plymouth Plantation had also helped themselves, and how much was taken by them, and how much by Tilly, he did not know.

White proceeded to explain that on the dissolution of the Joint Adventure, certain persons had taken over the business; besides himself there were:—Richard Bushrod, deceased, Gilbert Loder, William Derby, Bernard Toup, Richard Bury, and George Way, all of Dorchester, John Conant of Lymington, Somerset, Henry Manifold of Long Burton, Dorset, and Morgan Hayne, now living, White had heard, toward Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Watts, in his evidence, acknowledged that he did take twenty-six hogsheads of salt without the knowledge or authority of these Joint Adventurers, and with it endeavoured to cure fish, but for the most part the fish proved rotten and corrupt so that he could not admit that he had gained a penny by the use of the salt; nevertheless, the Adventurers had allowed something for the salt as their accounts showed. All these adventurers, in or for the Plantation or any other of the Joint Adventurers, did not know that anyone,

other than the company of the *Zouch Phenix*, had taken or used any of the boats, nets, &c., belonging to Henry Beale and Peter Lennarts, deceased.

In reply to this, the plaintiffs declared that Watts had continued in the employment of the remainder of the adventurers, and had used the salt for the benefit of the Dorchester Plantation, and that, on his return, Watts and Richard Bushrod,²⁰ now deceased, confessed that they had used this property, but refused to give the names of the other adventurers implicated. The defendants provided a list of ninety adventurers whom they accused. As White, in the previous October, had provided the names and addresses of one hundred and twenty-one Joint Adventurers, it must be assumed that they counted these ninety adventurers as actually responsible; this would explain why they brought a further action against Edmund Dashwood, Robert Coker, Benjamin Devenish and John White, clerk, all of whom were Joint Adventurers, and with the exception of White were not among the small body that carried on the plantation. These defendants, on 2nd July, 1636, declared that some twelve years before, they had, with divers knights and gentlemen, become Joint Adventurers for settling a plantation in New England, and, with the exception of John White, they had little or nothing to do with the adventure beyond paying 20^{li} each, and, having lost all their money, they gave over the plantation about eight years ago. For the rest they referred the Court to the answer made by John White.

However, the matter, which had been before several courts, was finally decided, by a decree in the Court of Requests, in favour of Henry Beale and Peter Lennarts, executor of Peter Lennarts, deceased, against Dashwood, Coker, Devenish, White and Watts. His Majesty's Council ordered the latter to pay upon sight to the complainants 171^s for one hundred and seventy-one hogsheads of salt, and 20^s in addition for the shallops, the whole company being bound

²⁰ It is not clear whether Bushrod went on this voyage or whether it was merely that both persons admitted the truth of the charge. For a joint adventure of Watts and Bushrod, see below, p. 115.

by the decree, under a penalty of 500^{li}, to pay in rateable proportion to their subscriptions.

This was the conclusion of the whole matter—nine pounds and eleven shillings were to be paid for the goods said to have been appropriated by the Dorchester Company. Apparently a small affair, but resulting in providing for the historian of New England material of enormous value in the elucidation of the story of the Dorchester Company. It supplies the names of the Adventurers and the places at which they resided, and shows that after the greater part of them had relinquished their active participation in the adventure, it was carried on by eleven enthusiasts. It indicates the independence of their settlement from the Plymouth Colonists, who, though charged by the accused with complicity in the use of the missing goods, were not included as defendants,—had the Cape Ann settlement been in any way subordinated, the Dorchester settlers would have fallen back upon the Pilgrims as responsible for their own doings. But the most important point which emerges is that the Dorchester Company contained a large proportion of clergy, who were not Separatists—therefore not in sympathy with the Plymouth colonists—and who, though Puritans, retained their livings. This also shows that the undertaking was something more than “a mere fishing and trading venture,” though it was politic at the moment of the prosecution of the Feoffees for Improvements²¹ that attention should not be drawn to that fact in a court of law.

As we have suggested above, it was probably with the malodorous cargo of this ship, that Woodbury and Trask crossed to England in order to plead the cause of the intended Plantation, leaving their comrades at Nahum-Keike to make themselves as comfortable as circumstances permitted, to face the approaching winter.

It cannot be said with precision who these comrades were, but it has been asserted that the first settlers numbered some twenty persons. Among these we can certainly place Roger Conant, John Woodbury, Peter Palfrey, John Balch, William Trask, John Norman and his son, John Tilly, Thomas Gardner, William Allen,

²¹ See Chapter XIX.

Walter Knight, Thomas Gray, and, almost certainly, John Gray. G. H. Phippen suggests that Brackenbury, in his deposition, divides these settlers into two classes, "one appearing like men who possessed a prime interest in the undertaking, while the others were without doubt men sent over in a subservient capacity." Norman and Allen were carpenters; Tilly was a mariner. In the first class would be reckoned "John Woodbury, Mr. Conant, Peeter Palfrey, John Balch & others", in the second, "old Goodman Norman and his son, William Allen and Walter Knight, and others." Of the group of thirteen given above, the first five were granted farms of two hundred acres each, which on 25th January, 1635/6, were set out at the head of the Bass River; afterwards these were known as "The Old Planters Farms", and there is evidence that a tract of land, consisting of four hundred acres, was granted "by the town of Salem to eight men"; also that one of the eight of the second group, William Allen, held fifty acres by "the Old Planters Marsh", and that another, John Norman, had obtained his share of the four hundred acres above-mentioned.²²

Besides these thirteen men, properly styled Old Planters, there were other settlers—not counting Lyford whose stay was brief. Francis Johnson and Robert Cole, who were granted respectively 200 and 300 acres each, are known to have been in Salem at an early date, while William Jeffries, perhaps with less reason, has been considered another member of "Londons Plantation". This would bring the number up to sixteen. Conant, John Woodbury and Palfrey seem to have had their wives with them. Conant had a son, the first white child born there, in 1626; Gardner had four sons, the youngest of whom was of marriageable age in 1644; Woodbury brought over his grown son Humphry before the arrival of Endecott, so the actual number of adults must have been well over

²² All the above references will be found in a paper on the "Old Planters" by G. H. Phippen in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, I. p. 102 *et seq.*, and Brackenbury's deposition is given in Thornton, *Landing at Cape Ann*, p. 79. The suggested division into classes seems probable, and evidence from local records is quoted.

twenty, and to these should be added several labourers,—men who were indented for service to pay their passage, keep etc., which may have brought the actual residents before Endecott made his appearance up to thirty.

During the absence of their ambassadors, those left behind at Nahum Keike were busy improving their position, building houses, planting, and making such preparations for the future as they could, hoping that Woodbury's mission would prove succesful. When he came back, bringing his son Humphry, the latter informs us, they had erected "another house for them [the Dorchester Company] at Salem besides that at Cape Ann."²³ It is a tradition that the frame of a house was brought from England, erected at Cape Ann, and afterwards moved to Salem, where it was occupied by Conant until his supersession as manager of the colony by the new governor.

To complete the picture of the little settlement, one is tempted to quote Hawthorne's description of "Salem Main Street", but at least his words about Conant may be given here. After describing the forest, he says:—"In more than one spot among the trees, an upheaved axe is glittering in the sun. Roger Conant, the first settler in Naumkeage, has built his dwelling months ago, on the border of the first path; and at this moment he comes eastward, through the vista of the woods, with his gun over his shoulder, bringing home the choice portions of a deer. His stalwart figure, clad in a leather jerkin and breeches of the same, strides sturdily forward, with such an air of physical force and energy that we might almost expect the trees to stand aside and give him room to pass. And so, indeed, they must; for humble as is his name in history, Roger Conant still is of that class of men who do not merely find but make their place in the system of human affairs; a man of thoughtful strength, he had planted the germ of a city. There stands his habitation, showing in its rough architecture some features of the Indian wigwam, and some of the log cabin, and somewhat, too, of the straw-thatched cottage in Old England, where this

²³ Thornton, *Landing at Cape Ann*, p. 82.

good yeoman had his birth and breeding. The dwelling is surrounded by a cleared space of a few acres, where Indian corn grows thrivingly among the stumps of the trees: while the dark forest hems it in, and seems to gaze silently and solemnly, as if wondering at the breadth of sunshine which the white man spreads around him."²⁴ To this picture Hawthorne adds an Indian gazing wonderingly, and Conant's wife and children awaiting him at the door, and comments upon the happiness found by these exiles in the New World.

A different aspect of the situation is given by Felt:—"Could the judicious Conant and his companions, when making this place their retreat from the trials of unsuccessful experiments, have looked down through the prospects of ages and directed their vision to such a change, under all its hopeful circumstances, their hearts would have risen to heaven in warmest aspirations of gratitude. Could they commune with the thousands dwelling on the foundations of their hands, they would utter the counsel of wisdom—see to it that you cherish the deepest sentiments of dependence on the divine aid which has preserved your inheritance."²⁵

²⁴ Hawthorne, *Twice-told Tales*.

²⁵ *Annals of Salem*, (1845 edition), p. 11.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY AND ITS PLANTATION

1628

“Whenas this people thus resolv’d the Ocean see to venter
As was their errant, so they did adress the ships to enter.
Ship owners seeing like it was their gain might holpen bee
And undertakers with like hope, to hire ships were free.
Close Cabbins being now prepar’d with bread, biefe, beere
and fish,
The passengers prepare themselves that they may have their
wish,
With little goods, but many words, aboard comes one, and
says,
I long to set my feet on shore, where cloudy pillar stays.”

Good News from New England.

THE little band of men, mostly Dorchester merchants, who now had the affairs of the colony in hand, found themselves unable to cope with the business, and, as they were heavily in debt, the enterprise seemed doomed to failure. Their interest was keen enough, and they recognized the wisdom of obtaining a grant, commonly called a patent, as the settlers desired, in order to establish the colony on a sound footing.

To fulfil the requirements of the Council for New England it was necessary to obtain the guarantee of gentlemen of blood whom White easily found among his neighbours, some of whom had been members of the Dorchester Company.

Sir Henry Rosewell of Ford Abbey, was a person of considerable importance locally; in 1629/30 he became High Sheriff of Devon.

He was a strong Puritan, though not a Separatist. Later he was summoned before the High Commission for not attending his parish church, and for allowing others than his family to resort to his private chapel. He had already presented to the living of Lymington, Somerset, John Conant, brother of Roger Conant the emigrant, through whom he was kept informed regarding New England affairs.

Thomas Southcote of Mohuns Ottery, near Honiton, had been a member of the Dorchester Company; his wife was a daughter of Sir William Pole and sister of Periam and Elizabeth Pole, all three of them also members.

Sir John Yonge, of Colyton, had married into the Strode family, one of whom had been a member. His father, Walter Yonge, an original member, became High Sheriff of Devon in 1628, and later, as a staunch Puritan member of Parliament, he made shorthand notes of White's speech before the House of Commons.

Simon Whetcombe, brother of Robert Whetcombe, a member of the early company, belonged to a merchant family of Sherborne, and was himself a wealthy citizen and cloth-worker of London.¹

John Humfry, late treasurer of the Dorchester Company, was at this time residing in that Borough and had recently buried there his second wife.²

These worthy Puritans were prepared to lend the prestige of their names for such an estimable project as the establishment of a colony which might prove a refuge to those holding the same opinions, and the Council for New England were completely satisfied.³

¹ As evidence of the thoroughness with which Whetcombe threw himself into the New England venture, it may be mentioned that in his will, because, as he said, his estates consisted of merchandize in the parts beyond seas and was casual and uncertain, he left no legacies to his kinsfolk or to charitable uses, requesting his wife to give as she thought best.

² He married, in 1630, as his third wife, Lady Susan Fiennes, sister of Theophilus, 9th Earl of Lincoln.

³ Gorges says that certain persons desired a patent "who presenting the names of honest and religious men obtained their first desires." *Records of the Council for New England*, ed. Deane, p. 76.

White takes up the story at this point; after recording that the most honest and industrious of the settlers had decided to remain in the country and care for the cattle already sent and that they intended to remove to Nahum Keike, he says:— “Some then of the Adventurers that still continued their desire to set forwards the Plantation of a colony there [*i.e.* himself and the small company of Dorchester merchants]; conceiving that if some more Cattell were sent over to those few Men left behinde; they might not only be a meanes of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the Country; but of inviting some other of their Friends and Acquaintance to come over to them; aduentured to send over twelve Kine and Buls more. And conferring casually with some *Gentlemen of London*, moved them to adde vnto them as many more [cattle?]. By which occasion the businesse came to agitation afresh in *London*, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar. In so much that some men shewing some good affection to the worke, and offering the helpe of their purses, if fit men might be procured to goe over; Enquiry was made whither any would be willing to engage their persons in the Voyage; by this enquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott*, a man well knowne to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept of the offer as soone as it was tendered: which gaue great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this worke, of erecting a new *Colony* upon the old foundation.”⁴

The reason for the selection of Endecott is not definitely known; it has been asserted that he was born in Dorchester in 1587/8, and that he resided in White's parish,⁵ but no evidence is produced in support of these statements. The suggestion is that he was known to White, but the very wording of the reference to him in the *Planters Plea* points rather to the fact that he was previously

⁴ *Planters Plea*, p. 43.

⁵ Quoted from *Memoir of John Endecott* written by Charles M. Endecott, in *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, I. p. 202.

unknown to the writer,⁶ and that many enquiries had been made before they lighted upon him. Endecott was not a member of the Dorchester Company though that included nearly every man of importance, and many of humble origin, in the Borough; nor does the name Endecott occur in any known record of the town—parish registers, churchwardens' accounts, municipal documents, etc.,—nor in those of any place in the vicinity, so the inference is that he came from some other part of England. It is possible that his name was brought forward by Matthew Cradock, a wealthy skinner, at this moment beginning to take an interest in this movement, as we find he refers to Endecott's wife as "cousin" and there is ground for thinking their marriage had recently taken place, and that he was anxious to emigrate.

Endecott's ready acceptance of the offer provided the Adventurers with one who would be an active partner, so he was included among the prospective patentees. The body thus completed applied to the Council for New England, and on 19th March, 1627/8, was issued a grant, by way of an indenture, to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Yonge, Thomas Southcote, John Humfry, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe and their associates. The original grant has been lost, so it cannot be positively stated what ground it covered, but the Letters Patent subsequently issued give the territory as lying between a line three miles north of the Merrimack River and another three miles south of the Charles River and extending to the Pacific Ocean.⁷ The "Associates" included as grantees were probably not named as it was usual to use this vague term and supply the names of those eventually associated with them when the grant was exchanged for a patent.⁸

The earliest list of Adventurers is that of May, 1628, two

⁶ Had he been of Dorchester White would hardly have said that "at last" he was found, for he would have suggested him promptly, and, moreover, White would not have suggested the employment of one already inclined to Separatism. Endecott was a friend of Peter; his title of Captain has not been explained.

⁷ See p. 176.

⁸ See p. 146.

months later, found in Felt's *Annals of Salem*,⁹ placed in an appendix with no indication of its source. The document quoted reads as follows:—

In the name of God, Amen.

London, May, 1628.

Sundry men owe unto the general stock of the adventurers for plantation intended at Massachusetts Bay in New England, in America, the sum of two thousand one hundred and fifty pound And is for so much undertaken by the particular persons mentioned hereafter, by their several and general stock for the foresaid plantation. Subscriptions to be by them adventured in this Joint [*sic*] whereunto the Almighty grant prosperous and happy success, that the same may redound to his glory, the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the particular good of the several Adventurers, that are or hereafter shall be interested therein. The persons now to be made debtors to the general stock being as followeth:

Sir Rich ^d Saltonstall, knt., oweth	£100
Mr. Isaac Johnson, Esqr	100
Mr. Samuel Aldersey	[Haberdasher] 50
John Venn	[Captain & Merchant-tailor]
Hugh Peter	[Minister]
John Humfrey	[Gentleman]
Thomas Steevens	[Armourer]
George Harwood	[Haberdasher]
John Glover	[Gentleman] ¹⁰
Mathew Cradocke	[Skinner]
Simon Whetcombe	[Woollen Merchant]
Francis Webbe	
Increase Nowell	[Gentleman]
Mr. A. C.	
Richard Tuffneale	[Brewer]
Richard Perrie	[Merchant-tailor]
Joseph Oldfield	[Fishmonger?]
John White	[Minister]

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

¹⁰ Perhaps the brother of Josse Glover, the minister, who was of Lincoln's Inn. See *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, 47, p. 500, but it may be an error for Josse himself.

Joseph Caron	[Skinner]
Thomas Adams	[Woollen-draper]
Richard Davis	[Vintner]
Abraham Palmer	[Mercer]
William Darbie	[Mercer]
John Endecott	[? Surgeon]
Daniell Hodson	[Clothier]
Edward Foorde	[Leather Seller]
Daniell Bullard	
Tho: Hewson	[Merchant]
Andrew Arnold	
Richard Bushrod	[Haberdasher]
Richard Young	[Cooper]
George Way	[Glover]
Richard Bellingham	[Gentleman]
Job Bradshawe }	
Joseph Bradshawe }	[Brewers]
Herye Durleye	[Gentleman]
Tho: Hutchins	
Charles Whitcholls	[Witchcott, Colonel]
George Foxcroft	[Merchant]
William Crowther	[Haberdasher]
Nathaniel Manstrey	

The subscribers from S. Aldersey signed each £50.”¹¹

An analysis of this list gives us seven gentlemen, two ministers, two officers in the London Trained Bands, twenty-two Londoners of these occupations:—merchants, vintners or brewers, one surgeon doubtful, and six unidentified, assuming that it is correct to assign Oldfield and the two Bradshawes to their fathers’ businesses.

Immediately following the above list Felt gives another of moneys received from sundry adventurers by George Harwood, “Treasurer for the plantation of Mattachusetts Bay”, from which we get two additional names:—Abrie [? John Aubrey] and John Smith—possibly the famous Captain—who was allowed to pay in

¹¹ Occupations are not given by Felt but where known are supplied in brackets.

two instalments. The subscriptions are in sums of 50^{li}, 25^{li} and 15^{li}, amounting to 765^{li}, exclusive of Smith's second payment. Together these subscriptions amounted to 2915^{li} approximating the 3000^{li} usually estimated to be sufficient to start a plantation.

Here, then, are the names of forty-three Adventurers among whom merchants predominated; they form, as far as they can be identified, almost exactly half of the body. These were hard-headed business men of Puritan proclivities, having a shrewd eye to the financial side of the undertaking. The skinner, Cradock, would traffic in beaver and cure skins sent over; Harwood, the haberdasher, supplied "100 peare of knit stockings, about 2s. 4d. a pr.", and probably sold other goods from his stock to the company and intending emigrants; Mr. Deputy, whoever he may have been, for Goffe does not appear to have become an adventurer until later, also supplied stockings; the other haberdashers, mercers, woollen-drapers, etc., would have sought and found a market for their wares; the armourer got a big order and John Hewson, the famous Cobbler-peer, probably a kinsman of the adventurer Hewson, agreed to make "8 pere of welt neates leather shoues" of various sizes, no doubt for persons in New England not at hand to be measured.

This group of Adventurers at a later date, when their business was passing into the hands of others, wrote a letter on 21st April, 1629, to Endecott, which was signed by "The Governor and Deputy of the New England Company for a Plantation in Mattachusetts Bay."¹² Shortly after another document informed Endecott that he and others had been elected and their body was to be entitled "by the name of the Governor and Council of London's Plantation", and that this election had taken place in a full and ample court holden "by the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England."¹³ As the officials themselves so clearly disig-

¹² *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 397.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 361. The first intimation of the increase in number and in the powers of the company was made to Endecott in the letter of 17th April. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

nate the two governing bodies by distinct titles the abbreviation of the first to "The New England Company" may safely be used when referring to the body which throughout the year 1628 acted under the "Rosewell grant."^{13a}

The exact relations existing between this company and its predecessor, the Dorchester Company, are difficult to discover. Both Humphry Woodbury and Richard Brackenbury, in their depositions made in 1680, agree that they understood the "Patenttees in and about London", otherwise known as those that "kept their Court in" Cornhill,¹⁴ bought out the rights, and apparently the property, of the Dorchester Company. Hubbard distinctly states that these were purchased,¹⁵ but, on the other hand, there is the statement made by Cradock himself that "to the best of my remembrance they [the Dorchester men] gave what they had there to go upon accompt of their Stock intended."¹⁶ This suggests that the few members who retained control of the plantation at Nahum Keike had been allowed to count the value of the material and the services of the men there as part payment of their subscriptions of 50^{li} to the stock of the new company. All that can be said definitely is that a transaction of some kind placed the Plantation and the stock-in-trade of the Dorchester Company in the hands of the New England Company.

Six members of the old Dorchester Company appear among the

^{13a} Higginson in his *True Relation*, styles it "The Company of New England consisting of many worthy gentlemen in the city of London, Dorchester and other places, ayiming at the glory of God, the propagation of the gospell of Christ, the conversion of the Indians and the enlargement of the Kings Majestys dominions in America, and being authorized by his royal letters patent etc." He names only two places and uses part of the phraseology of the 1628 pronouncement, ending with reference to the letters patent. Is it possible that this last was interpolated before printing?

¹⁴ The first meetings of the Bay Company were held in Cradock's house in Swithun's Lane, just off Cornhill, but soon afterwards in Thomas Goffe's house, so probably the New England Company held its meetings at Cradock's.

¹⁵ *Present State of New England*, London, 1677, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 125.

subscribers to the new venture:—John White, Bushrod, Darby and Way, of those who had carried on the plantation, Humfry, the former treasurer, and Simon Whetcombe, who appears to have taken over his brother Robert's interests before the transfer.¹⁷

The position of the settlers on the plantation is difficult to understand from the material available; those reckoned as of an inferior class might well have their indented services transferred, but the other pioneers, working for themselves by clearing, planting, etc., had some claim to be on a footing with the adventurers, and this was eventually recognized.

At the time the grant to the New England Company was obtained the remnant of the Dorchester Company was occupied in carrying out their promise to send out supplies; fourteen beasts had been obtained for the welfare of the settlement by White's exertions, and a license was issued by the Lord Treasurer to Simon Whetcombe and Company for their transportation. The very day after the grant was obtained, *i.e.*, 20th March, 1627/8, supplies were placed on board two ships lying at Weymouth and entry made in the Port Book.

The *Peeter* of Weymouth, 40 tons, Richard White, Master, carried fourteen rother cattle with fourteen hogsheads of oats and three tons of hay for their consumption, four tons of salt, three thousand of bread, one hogshead of beef, one hogshead of peas, one hogshead of gurts and five tons of beer.

The *Happy Entrance* of Weymouth, 20 tons, Richard Gardener, Master, carried thirty hogsheads of malt, eight hogsheads of peas, two hogsheads of gurts, one hogshead of cheese, seven barrels of butter, one tierce of oil, one barrel of soap, twelve suits of clothes, five dozen of stockings, ten dozen of boots and shoes, four

¹⁷ Bushrod had a little flutter in tobacco through Gauden of the *Abigail*, the ship in which Endecott sailed, and John Watts, who had acted for the Dorchester men, claimed to have been a partner in the transaction, so he may be counted as of the Dorchester Company. *Court of Requests*, Charles I. Bundle 29. Watts *v.* Bushrod.

dozen of hats, two hogsheads of nails, two hogsheads of meal and three dickers of calves' skins.¹⁸

On one of these vessels sailed John Woodbury with his son Humphry, then about twenty years of age, and Captain Trask. On their arrival at Nahum Keike they would have informed the Old Planters of the changed situation and probably spoke hopefully of the future now that a company with greater capital and more influence had been formed, which was about to obtain a grant of the territory desired,—and this appeared a fulfilment of their requirements.

The despatch of these vessels must be considered the final effort of the Dorchester men, though in some measure they were responsible for the employment of the *Abigail*, another Weymouth vessel; possibly this ship is one mentioned in another entry in the same Port Book. Unfortunately the sheet is badly rotted by damp so its name is irrecoverable; the date of the entry is "Mai", 1628. The ship was of 120 tons, the master's name was Henry, his surname is lost. The bill of lading of the ship on which Endecott sailed was dated 20th June, according to the Massachusetts Records,¹⁹ but it is possible that the freight was put on board some three weeks earlier, and the ship's departure delayed for the convenience of the Company or of Endecott himself.

The freight of the vessel entered in the Port Book was also free of customs dues under a license to the said Simon Whetcombe; it consisted, as far as the record is decipherable, of some firkins of butter, three dozen of hats, four hundredweight of nails, ten hundredweight of uncast lead, two hogsheads of "aquavity", twelve runlets of strong waters, two pipes of Madeira wine, thirteen barrels of gunpowder, forty suits of apparel, forty "lining" shirts, twenty muskets and twenty "Costletts". The character of this freight,—the fine wines, suitable for the Governor's consumption on the voyage, and the precious munitions,—suggests that this was the

¹⁸ *Weymouth Port Book*, 783. 100 of bread, probably quarterns; gurts are shelled oats.

¹⁹ *Op. Cit.*, I. p. 25.

Abigail. From this date onward the ships sailed from London, as was natural after their headquarters were transferred to Cornhill.

Endecott's instructions were signed on behalf of the new company on 30th May, 1628, by the following Adventurers:— John Venn, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, John Humfry, Richard Perry, George Hewson, Samuel Aldersey, Thomas Steevens, Joseph Caron, Thomas Webb, Increase Nowell, Hugh Peter, John White and Abraham Palmer, according to a note in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*;²⁰ it is possible that Thomas Webb should read Francis Webb, and George Hewson, Thomas Hewson, as Francis Webb and Thomas Hewson were Adventurers and the other Christian names do not occur with these surnames.

The *Abigail*, as has been said, is believed to have sailed on 20th June, taking the Governor of London's Plantation, John Endecott, his wife, and at least three emigrants whose names are known:— Charles Gott, Richard Brackenbury and Richard Davenport.²¹

There is some divergence of opinion as to Endecott's suitability for the post; a contemporary, Johnson, in his *Wonder-working Providence*, describes him as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work; of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere, applying himself to either as occasion serves."²² But that he was not well-balanced and was ill-fitted to rule, appears from the sentence passed on him by his fellow-magistrates after he cut the Cross from the flag; "they apprehended he had offended therein many ways, in rashness, uncharitableness, indiscretion and exceeding the limits of his calling; whereupon the Court hath censured him to be sadly admonished

²⁰ *Op. Cit.*, I. p. 16.

²¹ The exact number accompanying Endecott is unknown. The *Planters Plea* [p. 43] says that the new comers brought up the number to "not much above fiftie or sixtie persons." Higginson's figures work out to the presence of about one hundred when he arrived. [*New Englands Plantation*.] The Old Planters numbered about thirty. [See p. 105.] The space available on the three ships from Weymouth is unlikely to have accommodated more than forty. Haven's estimate of one hundred on board seems wide of the mark.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

for his offence, in which accordingly he was, and also disinabled for bearing any office in the commonwealth, for the space of a year."²³ He appears to have been surprised at this and protested vigorously. The "obsequious eye" which the Company considered necessary to turn towards the authorities at home hardly required such a sweeping condemnation, but making all allowances on that score, enough undesirable qualities remain to prove that Endecott was ill-chosen to govern an infant colony at that period.²⁴

It was not long before he disclosed his domineering spirit. The Old Planters must have learned with intense surprise that they had been handed over, as Endecott represented, body and soul, with all their worldly goods, well-tilled and well-manured fields, buildings and all other improvements made at Nahum Keike, without their consent, to a body which had bought out the interests of the Dorchester Company.

Events moved quickly; Humphry Woodbury, making an affidavit half a century later, shows that the new Governor's action was resented and rankled long. He said that Endecott declared that he had been sent over by the Patentees and that these men had "bought the houses, boats and servants, which belonged to the Dorchester Company and that he, said Endecott, had power to receive them; which accordingly he did take possession of."²⁵ Richard Brackenbury, deposing at the same time, says that on their arrival at Salem "we found living old Goodman Norman, and his son; William Allen and Walter Knight, and others, those owned that they came over upon the account of a company in England called by us by the name

²³ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 146.

²⁴ Thornton's opinion of his character will be accepted by all students familiar with the recorded events of his life in New England:—"arbitrary and sometimes violent, he ruled with a determined hand and carried the sword unsheathed; quick to assert, and ready to maintain his rights; firm and unyielding, he confronted all obstacles with a vigorous resistance; a man of theological asperity and bigoted, he was guarded against every insidious foe."—*Landing at Cape Ann*, p. 66. For his ungovernable temper and arrogance see the Dexter incident; for his brutality and bigotry see the Antinomian Controversy.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

of Dorchester Company or Dorchester merchants, they had sundry houses built at Salem, as also John Woodbury, Mr. Conant, Peter Palfrey, John Balch and others, and they declared that they had a house built at Cape Ann for the Dorchester Company, and I having waited upon Mr. Endecott, when he attended the company of the Massachusetts patentees, when they kept their court in Cornwell Street in London I understood that this company of London having bought out the right of the Dorchester merchants in New England, and that Mr. Endecott had power to take possession of their right in New England, which Mr. Endecott did, and in particular of an house built at Cape Ann, which Walter Knight and the rest said they built for Dorchester men: and so I was sent with them to Cape Ann to pull down the said house for Mr. Endecott's use, the which we did, and the same year we came over according to my best remembrance, it was that we took a further possession on the north side of Salem ferry, commonly called Cape An side, by cutting thatch for our houses, and soon after laid out lots for tillage land on the said Cape An side, and quickly after sundry houses were built on the said Cape An side."²⁶

It has been pointed out that according to this affidavit the Normans, Allen, Knight, and others, were servants employed by the Company while the rest of those named were of a different status;²⁷ several of these were already in New England when asked to move to the Dorchester Plantation and had not, therefore, been sent out at the expense of the company. Not occupying the position of craftsmen or labourers receiving wages, but rather that of independent pioneers, they resented being treated as chattels, transferred with their houses, boats, goods, and all the results of their labours in planting, etc., entirely without their consent. They

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79. It is obvious from this that there were more than four early settlers at Cape Ann—the number mentioned by Mr. Ford; among those unnamed above was Captain Trask, who accompanied Woodbury to England. Cornwell Street is Cornhill.

²⁷ G. H. Phippen, in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, I. p. 102. The latter, unlike the others, did not own that they came over upon account of a company.

protested against this proceeding, but they found themselves confronted by a Governor who ignored all claim to consideration for those who as pioneers, by their personal exertions, had provided a plantation for him to rule—any delusion they may have entertained of having earned special consideration was dispelled when Endecott informed them that, not only were they forbidden to grow tobacco but that the food and supplies brought by the newly arrived ships, intended partly for their sustenance, was to have thirty per cent added over and above costs and charges and, moreover, that beaver offered in exchange by the Old Planters, was to be accepted at the rate of six shillings a pound when, as they must have been aware, the company was valuing the skins at twenty shillings a pound—a preposterous addition for the cost and dangers of transport.

Under such disabilities and restrictions the Old Planters were not inclined to suffer in silence; they protested that their rights had been ignored and that under the patent they were treated as slaves. To such protests Endecott turned a deaf ear, doubtless depending upon his control over the company's vessels to prevent the Old Planters from leaving the plantation in anger. But he had "counted without his host," and the situation was no doubt clearly placed before him. It is reasonable to suppose that the former servants of the Dorchester Company—placed on a par with the new and inexperienced comers—sympathized with the Old Planters, and at the best would have given but grudging service; subsequent events give colour to the theory that they made common cause with their leaders and shared to some extent in the benefits received.

Should these leaders depart from Nahum Keike, the party which had just arrived would be in sorry case; inexperienced in pioneer work, unfamiliar with the conditions of the plantation and ignorant of the country, the difficulties and dangers to be encountered during the approaching winter season, approximating so closely to those that had prevailed at Plymouth immediately after the arrival of the Pilgrims, must have daunted the most courageous, even Endecott himself.

When he became aware that Oldham, who was beginning a plantation at the bottom of the Bay under a patent from John Gorges, was urging the Old Planters to join his enterprise, where their experience as successful pioneers would be appreciated and their position in the community important, Endecott was forced to reconsider the matter and allow them certain of the privileges they claimed, such as the planting and use of tobacco, until their complaints were considered by the Company.

With such small concessions Conant, the peace-lover, persuaded his companions to be content for the moment, promising, apparently, to lay the whole case before his friend, John White, and thus, according to Hubbard, "the late controversy that had been agitated with too much animosity betwixt the forementioned Dorchester planters, and their new agent Mr. Endecott and his company, then sent over, being by the prudent moderation of Mr. Conant, agent before for the Dorchester merchants, quietly composed, that so *meum* and *tuum* that divide the world should not disturb the peace of good christians, that came so far to provide a place where to live together in christian amity and concord."²⁸

Hubbard also refers to the strange impression made on Conant's mind which caused him "to pitch upon Nahum-Keike . . . and his confidence and consistency, there to stay with intent to carry on the same notwithstanding many cross providences, that seemed at the first view, to thwart that design; so as in the conclusion, it may truly be said in this, if in any other of like nature, the hand of the Lord hath done this, which therefore should be the more marvellous in the eyes of men."²⁹

The home-going ships probably took letters from Conant and others as well as from the Governor, whose letter bore date 18th September, 1628. The *Planters Plea* takes up the story at this point; after saying that Endecott had united his own men with those formerly in the country, into one body, consisting of not more

²⁸ *History of New England*, p. 109.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

than fifty or sixty persons,³⁰ White continues, "His prosperous Journey and safe arrivall of himselfe and all his Company, and good report which he sent backe of the Country, gave such encouragement to the worke, that more *Aduenturers* joyning with the first *Vndertakers*, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the *Designe*" arrangements were made for the enlargement of the colony.³¹

How many Adventurers had joined the New England Company between Endecott's departure and the actual sealing of the Charter is uncertain, but the following names appear in the Records just about the latter date:—Thomas Goffe, Nathaniel Wright, Christopher Coulson, Samuel Vassall, Thomas Sharpe,³² Captain [Henry] Waller and Theophilus Eaton.³³ Possibly John Davenport subscribed about this time.³⁴ Before the 30th April, when it will be seen the company was actually in working order, the following names occur:—John Browne, Herbert Pelham, Thomas Waldegrave, William Colbron, Mr. Burnell and Mr. Waren.³⁵ This brings the number up to fifty-six or seven, but there is reason to believe that others had undertaken to join when the Charter should be obtained. Application for the Charter must have been made towards the close of 1628, for it would have required some time to pass through all the necessary stages, and the Great Seal was affixed on 4th March, 1628/9, incorporating the body as "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." Matthew Cradock, appointed by it governor, did not take the oath of allegiance and of office until 18th March, possibly because the first year

³⁰ This figure should be noted as showing how few sailed with Endecott, for as has been shown already, there were something approaching half those numbers at Nahum Keike on his arrival.

³¹ *Planters Plea*, p. 43.

³² *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 27.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁴ In a letter he said he had subscribed 50*li* and Eaton 100*li*, but the list of the 30th March gives each as subscribing 25*li*—they may have subscribed earlier or may have "doubled their former subscriptions" later.

³⁵ These are found in the missing sheets of the *Records*, printed by Mr. Haven, and numbered 30, 30c, 30d.

of the original grant to Rosewell did not expire until 19th March. As another five days elapsed before the greater number of the appointed Assistants were sworn, it is probable that the moribund New England Company carried on the work already begun, until the election of all officers on 13th May, though probably under the advice and approval of the new board.

Endecott's report of September, 1628,³⁶ for some unexplained reason, was not received by Cradock until 13th February; on its homeward voyage it must have passed one written by Cradock in November, forwarded through Mr. Allerton,³⁷ informing the governor of the proposed despatch of ships with emigrants and cattle, and requiring him to make the necessary provision for their accommodation; Cradock, in a letter of 16th February, amplified these instructions, describing the vessels bought or hired, by which between two and three hundred persons and about a hundred head of cattle would be sent over. He was not only to supply sufficient accommodation, but provide a quantity of material with which to lade home the ships without delay; beaver, or fish, or timber, sassafras, sarsaparilla, sumac, a ton-weight or more of silk-grass, dyestuffs, and at least two or three hundredweight of sturgeon³⁸—a heavy task for the few settlers, debilitated, almost devastated, by the severe winter and sickness; they had not only to provide for their own sustenance, but were required by the Governor to lead unblameable lives, endeavour to instruct natives in the Gospel and train Indian children in reading and religion while young.

Endecott is also informed that it was fully resolved, by God's assistance, to send over at once, at least two ministers, but Mr. Peter was still in Holland and his return uncertain. Those sent "shall be by the approbation of Mr. White of Dorchester and Mr.

³⁶ It would have been Endecott's too large commendations that Dudley had in mind—not Higginson's. His statements are very vague. [See Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 310.]

³⁷ Letters were received at Plymouth dated 18th November [Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, II. p. 69 note] but Allerton did not return until the following spring.

³⁸ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 385.

Davenport." He concludes, "And so, till my next, which shall be, God willing by our ships, who I make account will be ready to set sail from hence about the 20th of this next month of March."³⁹

Arrangements, according to the Massachusetts Records, were made for the emigration of a considerable number of people; as early as 2nd March reference is made to a company of men from Dorchester who were to sail in the *Lyons Whelp*; agreements were made with Graves, Riall, Braid and others; on 26th February an estimate was made for the *Talbot* if it carried an hundred passengers and thirty-five mariners—the latter accounted double for three months; on 17th March another estimate was submitted for wages and provisions of one hundred men, with others noted, including thirty-two men for the *Talbot* and the setting to sea of the *Lyons Whelp* with twenty cows and bulls, and ten mares and horses. These were the ships Cradock had mentioned as being got ready in February, more than a month before the Assistants were sworn in.

A peculiar interest attaches to an item of 2nd March, 1628/9, relating to those known later as the Lincolnshire men, either Dudley and the Earl of Lincoln's family, or members of John Cotton's congregation:—"Also it being propounded by Mr. Coney, in the behalf of the Boston men, (whereof divers had promised, though not in our book underwritten, to adventure 400^{li} for the joint stock,) that now their desire was that ten persons of them might underwrite 25^{li} a man in the joint stock, they withal promising with these ships to adventure in their particular about 250^{li} more, and to provide able men to send over⁴⁰ for managing the business; which though it be prejudicial to the general stock by the abatement of so much money thereout, yet appearing really to conduce more to the good of the plantation, which is most desired, it was condescended unto."⁴¹

³⁹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 385. Peter writes [*Dying Fathers Legacy*, p. 101] "But many of my acquaintance going for New England, had engaged me to come to them when they sent, which accordingly I did." He explains that it was the Book of Sports that moved him and others to leave England.

⁴⁰ Saltonstall and Johnson sent servants by these ships.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28. Haven quotes Clarendon's reference to a friend of Cromwell,

This concession was made for the benefit of the plantation, as matters seemed favourable enough to allow of a considerable financial sacrifice. It proves also that the Lincolnshire contingent, whose servants did go out at this time, had not yet become Adventurers in the Company, which detracts from the glory claimed for that party by Dudley, that they persuaded the Londoners and West-country men to adopt their noble purpose of pursuing religious aims, especially evangelizing Indians, instead of seeking only financial gains.⁴²

At this time Endecott received instructions concerning the Old Planters; he had reported their complaints, and his concession regarding the planting of tobacco. Cradock wrote:—"The course you have taken, in giving our countrymen their content in the point of planting tobacco there for the present, (their necessity considered), is not disallowed; but we trust in God, other means will be found to employ their time more comfortable, and profitable also in the end; and we cannot but generally approve and commend their good resolution to desist from the planting thereof, when as they shall discern how to employ their labours otherwise, which we hope they will be speedily induced unto by such precepts and examples as we shall give them."⁴³ Their "necessitie" is defined elsewhere as the use of tobacco "for physic, for preservation of their health."⁴⁴

In the Company's letter of 17th April, Endecott is informed of their increased strength by the Letters Patent under the Great

"one Coney, an eminent fanatic." [*American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, III. p. cxxxvii.]

⁴² Osgood [*American Colonies in 17th Century*, I. p. 143] quotes Dudley's statement as contemporary evidence that the Dorchester Company was only a fishing and trading venture, viz. that in 1627 the Puritans of Lincolnshire imparted their project of establishing a colony for evangelization, and he founds on this his argument that the transfer of the government was already contemplated. From the above quotations it is proved that the religious aim of the Company was promulgated before the Lincolnshire men joined it. See also declaration of May, 1628, p. 112.

⁴³ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 385.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

Seal, incorporating them as a body politic with ample power to govern the King's subjects residing on the plantation; they informed him that, "in prosecution of that good opinion" they had always had of him, he had been confirmed as Governor of the Plantation, with a council of thirteen, of whom they appointed the three clergymen, Higginson, Skelton and Bright, John and Samuel Browne, Graves and Samuel Sharpe; for the rest "we are content" that the Old Planters now there shall choose two of their own number, "the discreetest and judicial, . . . that they may see we are not wanting to give them fitting respect, in that we would have their consent (if it may be) in making wholesome constitutions for government; always provided that none shall be chosen, or meddle in their choice, but such as shall live amongst us, and conform to our government." If they refused to conform to such conditions Endecott and the appointed Councillors should choose two they considered most meet for that office.⁴⁵ Three more to make up the number of what they have "styled the Council of the Massachusetts Bay"⁴⁶ were to be chosen by the seven named, not doubting but a proper choice would be made.

Endecott was to inform the Old Planters that the Company did not seek to make them slaves, as some considered they had become under the Patent, but they were to be allowed to become partakers of the privileges, which by the King's special grace had been obtained, "with great cost, favour of personages of note, and much labour," be incorporated into the society, and enjoy not only the lands they had already manured, but should receive such further proportion as the Governor and the Council thought fit; moreover, "it is still our purpose that they should have some benefit by the common stock, as was by your first commission directed and appointed, with this addition, that if it be held too much to take

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁴⁶ Attention is called to the fact that they explain that they are calling the Council by a new name, though they had used the name of the New England Company, in their address, as that of the society under which Endecott had been employed.

thirty per cent and the freight of the goods, and in consideration of our adventure and disbursement of moneys to be paid in beaver at six shillings per pound", the rate was to be moderated as he and his Council thought agreeable to equity and good conscience. In conclusion they emphasized the condition that none should receive these privileges &c. except they were peaceable, of honest life and conversation, and desirous to live amongst us, and conform themselves to good order and government.⁴⁷ This proviso was doubtless particularly directed against Oldham and his sympathizers.

The reference in this instance to "Common Stock" from the context must be to the supplies sent out for the community, and it can have no connexion with that fund, which was distinct from the Joint-Stock, which is considered at length below.⁴⁸ It should be noted that Endecott had already been instructed to allow them some part of this, for the Company declare that it is still their purpose that the Old Planters should benefit by this according to his first instructions, and it is a fair inference that one of their complaints was that they had been denied this, and the Company were willing to abate their charges, and, besides, give a better rate of exchange if, considering all their risks, those in authority considered it fair.

It is difficult to understand the position of the Old Planters as regards their rights under the Charter. They had objected to the confiscation of their property, and it may be assumed that when they heard that the Brownes had obtained a special reduction because they were emigrating in person with supplies of their own, a payment of 5^{li} instead of 25^{li} being accounted sufficient to make them equal to Adventurers, the Old Planters felt that as they had established a claim to the territory by their residence, and had raised the Plantation to its present state of efficiency by their labours, they were fully entitled to be placed on the same footing without contributing any cash. The justice of such a claim must have been apparent, and it appears to have been grudgingly admitted to a certain extent—as a favour they were to receive the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I. p. 387.

⁴⁸ See p. 182.

rights and privileges under the charter which had been obtained by great cost and influence.

Moreover, they were granted another concession. After pointing out that some of the greatest Adventurers in the Company had declared their intention to have nothing to do with the plantation if it was proposed to cherish or permit the planting of tobacco, and also uttering a warning that late experience had proved that it hardly paid its freight and customs, the Company agreed that the Old Planters alone, if they conceived that they could not provide for their livelihood, were to be allowed to raise tobacco under such restrictions as the Governor and Council, in their discretion, thought fit, "having an especial care, with as much convenience as may be, utterly to suppress the planting of it, except for mere necessity," and the sale or use of it was strictly forbidden to any of the servants, either of the Company or of "particular men," except upon urgent occasion, for the benefit of health, and then taken privately.⁴⁹

Finally, in addition, the Old Planters were to have two hundred acres of land each, half granted at once, and the rest in the future.

How far these concessions were actually carried into effect cannot be definitely stated with the exception of the last one; some years later the five chief Old Planters were each granted a farm of two hundred acres, situated at the head of the Bass River, known afterwards as "The Old Planters Farms", and the eight others were together granted a plot of four hundred acres beside "The Old Planters Marsh."⁵⁰

Nor can it be said exactly how much influence White had in obtaining these concessions.

However, there is ground for believing that the grievances of the Old Planters led White to take steps towards the establishment of a plantation on the land allotted to him—an inference drawn from evidence found in several sources.

A party of forty planters from Dorchester and its vicinity

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I. p. 388

⁵⁰ *Salem Land Records.*

went in April, 1629, to New England in the *Lyons Whelp*, according to Higginson;⁵¹ it is significant that he makes no reference to any other shipload from a specified district.

The minutes of the Company's meeting on 3rd March, 1629, record a debate on "how some good course might be settled for the division of the lands, and that all men intending to go in person or to send over, might underwrite and seal some instrument to be made, whereby every man to be tied to such orders as shall be agreed upon here; and that a copy of this agreement be sent to Dorchester for all men to underwrite and seal that intend to take their passage in the *Lyons Whelp*, or else order to be taken that the ship proceed without them."⁵² Unfortunately the conclusion of the debate is not recorded.

Cradock, in a letter to Winthrop, dated March, 1636, refers to this expedition:—"for the pretence of the Dorchester men I know not what to say. I think if the truth were known they rather should be indebted to us. I am sure by sending the Company's ship *Lyons Whelp* for their occasions, the Company lost much money beside the burden ende [*sic*] commonly laid on the Londoners . . . I will endeavour to be further informed of this business of theirs if I can, but I persuade myself if any such thing were by order of Court, the court books there will show it, and to my best remembrance they willingly gave what they had there to go upon account of their stock intended."⁵³ It is to be inferred from this that the emigrants on the *Lyons Whelp*, though not in the employ of the Company, were allowed to sail in one of their ships.

Furthermore, it would appear from a paragraph in Cradock's letter to Endecott dated 28th May, 1629, that these Dorchester men were under White's orders. "Some things we are desired by Mr. White, the minister, to recommend unto your care, viz:—that you should show all lawful favour and respect unto the planters

⁵¹ See his *True Relation*.

⁵² *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 28.

⁵³ *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th Series, VI. p. 125. There is no entry in the *Massachusetts Records* relating to this matter.

that came over in the *Lyons Whelp* out of the counties of Dorset and Somerset; that you appoint unto William Dodge, a skilful and painful husbandman, the charge of a team of horses; to appoint Hugh Tillie and William Eedes for servants to Sir Richard Saltonstall; to give approbation and furtherance to Francis Webb in setting up his saw mill; and to take notice that all other persons sent over by Mr. White are servants to the Company, whatsoever he hath written to the contrary, this being now his own desire.”⁵⁴

Here it is clearly stated that certain men had been sent out by Mr. White and, by inference, that they were not servants of the company, but, being subject to his orders, they were now instructed to accept service with it.

An incident mentioned in a letter from White to Winthrop, probably correctly assigned to “about 1637,” seems to have some bearing on this matter. Reference is made to a case brought in the colonial courts by John Sweet in which he was successful and White considers himself to have been overthrown: “I say me, for if my words be the ground of his suit I must and will save the company harmless against whom he commenced it.” A marginal note interpolated says: “The words that he reports me to have spoken I remember not, nor believe that I ever spake them as they were alleged. I little thought that fellow, who owes his being in that place unto myself and my friends, would have lift up his heel against me. He knows, and I can make it appear, that our kindness to him hath cost us a great deal more than he requires. But if he would needs have satisfaction, is a suit in law the first intimation of one’s demands of recompense for a wrong received? This unkind passage hath wrought more on me than perhaps it would on the heart of a wise man, but, sir, let me desire that, seeing that he hath gone that way to work, he may not add a second wrong

⁵⁴ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 401. On 7th May, 1629, the Minutes record that letters were to be written “about Mr. Fra: Webbs buisenes for a mill.” Webb, an early adventurer, was brother-in-law to Samuel Aldersey and at one time seems to have had some connexion with Banbury, Oxfordshire, in which place White’s sister lived. He does not appear to have emigrated.

to the former, to lay that on others which in conscience can be required of none but myself. But seeing he takes pleasure in suits I believe we shall ere long pay him home in his own coin."⁵⁵

There can be little doubt when these scattered items are taken together that White had intended to form a compact group of planters, in some degree independent of the Company, and that for some reason—we might not be wrong in suggesting that it was pointed out to him that the Old Planters' grievances were about to be redressed—he relinquished his purpose for the time being. This conclusion if accepted as legitimate, must be borne in mind when the theory of a second, somewhat similar attempt is considered.

Another matter requires consideration, Oldham's claim under a grant from John Gorges.

Cradock wrote on 17th April, 1629:—"Mr. John Oldham came from New England not long ago before your arrival there, by whom we have had no small disturbance in our business, having been cast behind at least two months time in our voyage, through the variety of his vast conceits of extraordinary gain of 3 for one, propounded to be made and raised in 3 years, if he might have the managing of our stock, proffering to be contented for his own employment, so he might have the overplus of the gains, with whom after long time spent in sundry treaties,⁵⁶ finding him a man altogether unfit for us to deal with, we have at last left him to his own way, and we are informed, he with some others, are providing a vessel, and is minded, as soon as he can despatch, to come for New England, pretending to settle himself in Mattachusetts Bay, claiming a title and right by a grant from Sir Ferdinando Gorges' son, which we are well satisfied by good counsel is void in law. He will admit of no terms of agreement, unless we leave him at liberty to trade for beaver with the Indians, which we deny to the best of our own planters,

⁵⁵ *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 5th Series, I. p. 253. No trace of Sweet's suit has been discovered. About this time he was fined and imprisoned for shooting Endecott's wolf-dog in its owner's yard. [*Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 198]

⁵⁶ *Massachusetts Records*, I. pp. 28, 29; 2nd and 5th March, 1628/9.

neither is he satisfied to trade himself with his own stock and means, which we conceive is so small that it would not much hinder us, but he doth interest other men, who, for ought we know, are never likely to be beneficial to the planting of the country, their own particular profits (though to the overthrow of the general plantation) being their chief aim and intent. Now, as we shall unwillingly do any act in debarring such as were inhabitants before us of that trade, as in conscience they ought to enjoy, so shall we as unwillingly permit any to appropriate that to their own private lucre, which we, in our religious intentions, have dedicated to the common charge of building houses for God's worship, and forts to defend such as shall come thither to inhabit.⁵⁷ We fear that as he hath been obstinate and violent in his opinions here, so he will persist and be ready to draw a party to himself there, to the great hindrance of the common quiet. We have therefore thought fit to give you notice of his disposition, to the end you may beware how you meddle with him, as also that you may use the best means you can to settle an agreement with the old planters, so as they may not hearken to Mr. Oldham's dangerous though vain propositions. We find him a man so affected to his own opinion as not to be removed from it, neither by reason nor any persuasion; and unless he may bear sway and have all things carried to his good liking, we have little hope of quiet or comfortable subsistence where he shall make his abode."⁵⁸

Endecott is then instructed to use his power and the Company's

⁵⁷ This refers to assignment of profits from the beaver-trade to this purpose. *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 55.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I. p. 389. It has been considered necessary to give this quotation at length as misconception has arisen. Osgood says that Oldham gave the "company much annoyance by his insistence that he should have the management of the common stock, and with others the right of free trade with the Indians." [*American Colonies*, I. p. 135.] It will be seen that Oldham was urging the Company to let him manage their *fur trade* in a manner he considered profitable; his wide experience would have given him special knowledge in this respect. He made no claim to manage the "common stock" of the Company, as he was not a member of it.

privileges to "suppress a mischief before it take too great a head", for on the preservation of their rights the foundations of their government depend, so they cannot suffer "so great an affront" as Oldham and his adherents intend, for they will take heart to do great injury hereafter. Everything is to be done to prevent their government from being brought into contempt, wishing rather to draw the heathen by good example to Christ than to have a scandal to religion through disagreement between themselves. "But if necessity require a more severe course, *when fair means will not prevail*, we pray you to deal as in your discretions you shall think fittest for the general good and safety of the plantation and preservation of our privileges," and therefore in order to strengthen the Company's claim Endecott is to send forty or fifty persons to inhabit in the Massachusetts Bay.⁵⁹

Between the 17th and 21st April, Cradock saw the document on which Oldham based his claim, so adds a postscript to the letter saying he finds the grant is made to Oldham and Dorrell, and covers the land between the Charles River and the Abousett River, with all prerogatives royal, mines excepted, and that William Blaxton, clerk, and William Jeffryes, gentleman, are authorized to put them in possession.⁶⁰ This was the William Blackstone who dwelt on the site of Boston, and whose kindness was so ill-requited later. The sight of the grant seems to have shaken Cradock's belief that it was void in law, so he reiterates his instructions for the establishment of the Company's claim by preemption through a settlement within the limits of that grant.

The next entry relating to Oldham's business is on 11th May, 1629:—"This day Mr. Ouldum propounded unto Mr. White, that he would have his patent examined; and it is agreed by the Court not

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I. p. 390. The italics are mine as attention should be drawn to the deliberate use of Jesuitical methods by the men professing to inculcate religion by their example.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I. p. 398. The Abousett is now the Saugus River. Cradock would have found this grant was absolutely in order, even to the arrangement for giving seisin, being unlike some other grants in this respect to which the Company took exception.

to have any treaty with him about it, by reason it is thought he doth it not out of love, but out of some sinister respect."⁶¹

The "Mr. White" here mentioned was the minister,⁶² who was, as we know, taking active part in the Nahum Keike settlers' affairs as late as 28th May, 1629; Oldham would have counted upon his sympathetic consideration owing to friction concerning the Old Planters whom the Company, as the above shows, feared Oldham would entice away.

In concluding this account of the business undertaken by the New England Company, it is fitting to set out the several references to the departure of the fleet in the spring of 1628/9. White, as we have seen, states that the design of the settlement was taken up by many more adventurers, so that in the following year they sent over "about three hundred persons more, most servants with a convenient proportion of rother Beasts, to the number of sixty or seventy or there about and some Mares and Horses, of which the Kine came safe for the most part; but the greater part of the Horses died, so that there remained not above twelve or fourteen alive."⁶³

Dudley's account tallies:—"The next year were⁶⁴ sent diverse ships over with about 300 people, and some Cows, Goats and horses, many of which arrived safely. These, by their too large commendations of the country, and the commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on that" others were sent out.

Francis Higginson sailed with others at the opening of the sea-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I. p. 39.

⁶² "White the Counsellor" occurs first in the Minutes on 21st May, 1628/9, when consulted about the oath; on 18th October the designations "the Preacher" and "the Counsellor" are first used to distinguish the two Mr. Whites.

⁶³ *Planters Plea*, p. 43. "For the 12 coves, & 3 calves and 2 mares & 2 foals, it is thought fit that they be forthwith sold, rather than kept at charges all this winter; which is recommended to the care of Mr. Bateman and Mr. Huson." 29th September, 1629. [*Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 54.]

⁶⁴ *Letter*, ed. Force, p. 8. The word after the date is "wee" but it is corrected to [were] by Force. If it was intended for "we" it is used in a general sense, Dudley claiming control long before becoming an adventurer.

son of 1629; he describes the vessels sailing about the same time:—The *Talbot*, with one hundred planters, six goats, and five great pieces of ordnance, with food, etc., the *George* with twenty pieces of ordnance, twelve mares, thirty kine, some goats and fifty-two planters, with provisions; the *Lyons Whelp*, “a neat and nimble ship”, with eight pieces of ordnance, “many mariners and about 40 planters, specially from Dorchester and other places thereabouts”,⁶⁵ with provisions and four goats; the *Four Sisters* with many cattle and passengers, and also provisions; and the *Mayflower* with passengers and provisions.

Higginson himself was on the *Talbot*, which with her consort the *Lyons Whelp*, after a stormy passage, sighted Cape Ann on 26th June, running so close in shore that every hill and dale was visible, as well as islands full of gay woods and high trees, rock-weed and yellow flowers like gilly-flowers, till they passed into a “fine and sweet harbour”, and on the 29th approached Nahum Keike; on the 30th they cast anchor and the Governor came on board to welcome them.⁶⁶

Their reception is described in his “New Englands Plantation”:—“When we came first to Nahum Kek, we found about half a score of houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor, we found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which by common consent of the old planters were all combined together into a body politic, under the same Governor. There are in all of us both old and new planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nahum Kek, now called Salem; and the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a town there which we do call Cherton, or Charles Town. We that are settled at Salem make what haste we

⁶⁵ Among these would have been the Sprague brothers of Fordington, by Dorchester; one of them, in a letter of 1630, enquires for the welfare of “that worthy and godly man Mr. White your pastor, to whom my wife and I remember our service.” *Lechford's Note Book*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ T. W. Higginson, *Life of Francis Higginson*, p. 46.

can to build houses so that within a short time we shall have a fair town."⁶⁷

The little colony started under White's auspices by Conant was now increased and strengthened; not only were several ministers added to it, but the two brothers Browne now arrived, highly commended and taking rank and position among the colonists.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

CHAPTER XII

INTOLERANCE

1629

"Such as have given or taken any unfriendly reports of us New-English, should do well to recollect themselves. We have been reputed a Colluvies of wild optimists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow-roome for our phanatick Doctrines and practises: I trust our diligence past and constant sedulity against such persons and course will plead better things for us. . . By Brownists I mean not Independents but dew-clawed Separatists."

The Simple Cobler of Aggawam

THE Company and Endecott had succeeded in reaching a compromise with the Old Planters, with which the latter were fain to be content, as far as rights and privileges were concerned, but very soon another serious question arose which threatened to rend the little colony in twain.

Conant, and probably others of the early settlers, had left New Plymouth because they could not agree with those in authority on matters of religion¹—to them the Pilgrim Fathers were Brownists, "dew-clawed" or otherwise, or else "Schismaticks" of some

¹This is to be inferred from Hubbard's remark that "some religious and well-affected persons" left Plymouth because they disagreed with the religious opinions held there, "of which Mr. Roger Conant was one." Lyford was another, but it is doubtful whether Hubbard would have applied either adjective to Oldham. William Hilton, whose child was baptized, left the colony, and may have been another. Christopher Conant quite possibly was included, and some of the nine companions, names unknown, of Oldham may have been Church of England, as Oldham was. Bradford himself speaks of an assembly of persons to hear the Church services; this was sufficiently large to disturb the equanimity of the Pilgrim Fathers, just as the Brownes' assembly disturbed Endecott's.

sort, these laymen may not have been able to recognise the nice distinctions. Not in harmony with such tenets had the parishioners of White been brought up, for he held that Separation was "an evil in itself."² The Dorchester and Dorset men, and perhaps others from that vicinity, for the most part still clung to the Church, which White believed could be reformed from within, and many held in respect the services to which they had long been accustomed, even though these yeomen may have eyed the superimposed ceremonies askance. For a time, during Lyford's brief ministry at least, the Prayer Book^{2a} had been used at Nahum Keike, and the settlers, knowing that White's influence was likely to make itself felt in this direction, must have anticipated that ministers of this school of thought would be sent out, but in some of those chosen both he and they were doomed to disappointment.

In the letter of 17th February, 1628/9, when Endecott was informed that Mr. Peter, whose presence he appears to have requested, was still in Holland, and his return uncertain, the Company said that it was intended to send over at least two ministers; "those we send shall be by the approbation of Mr. White of Dorchester and Mr. Davenport."³ At that date Mr. Davenport was holding the living of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and his opinions then more or less coincided with those of White, though later they diverged.

The purpose of the Company and the names of those selected are given in their letter of the following 17th April:—"as the propagation of the Gospel is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling of the plantation, we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly ministers, by whose fruitful preaching, godly conversation, and exemplary life, we trust not only those of our own nation will be built up in the knowledge of God, but also

² *Planters Plea*, p. 35.

^{2a} It is said that White frequently magnified the Book of Common Prayer, that it was consonant to the Word of God, and that if the Holy Ghost had vouchsafed his immediate assistance in composing any book since the Bible, it was the Prayer Book. See below, Chapter XXII.

³ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 385.

the Indians may in God's appointed time be reduced to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ. One of them is well-known to yourself, viz., Mr. Skelton, who we have the rather desired to bear part in this work, for that we are informed that yourself have formerly received much good from his ministry. Another is Mr. Higginson, a grave man and of worthy commendations. The third is Mr. Bright, sometime trained up under Mr. Davenport."⁴

Francis Bright, Davenport's disciple, came from Rayleigh, Essex, and was the first to enter into agreement with the Company, on 2nd February, 1628/9, before the Charter was sealed. He stayed in London from that date probably until he sailed, being granted 5^{li} "towards the loss of his wages in the country and his charge in being in London."⁵ He appears to have had White's full approbation; he probably knew the Brownes, and other friends and kinsmen of White, his neighbours at Roxwell; at all events, he crossed in the *Lyons Whelp* with the Dorchester contingent.

Nathaniel Morton describes Bright as a "conformist".⁶ Hubbard says he was "a godly minister though not altogether of the same persuasion as to Church discipline" as Higginson and Skelton, adding that "there is little known at this time, and therefore the less to be said, although one, who affected him never the better for his conformity,"⁷ gives this character of him; that he began to hew stones in the mountain, wherewith to build, but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord and went down to Tarshish."⁸ The situation of this Biblical counterpart is apparent from Morton's statement that Bright, "not agreeing in judgment with the other two [ministers], removed to Charlestown." He was deputed to go to that place as minister to the company sent there in accordance with instructions arriving by the same

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

⁵ *American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, III. p. 30b.

⁶ *New England's Memorial*, 1846 edition, p. 145.

⁷ See Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 70.

⁸ *History of New England*, p. 113.

ship, to pre-empt the territory before Oldham returned. It may have been that suspicions concerning his opinions and those of the Brownes had already been aroused, so that the Governor thought it politic to divide the opposing forces. At Charlestown he no doubt found a congenial spirit in Blackstone, of whom it is said, he "betook himself to till the ground, wherein probably he was more skilled, or at least had better faculty, than in the things pertaining to the house of God: as if he had retained no symbol of his former profession but a canonical coat. Antiquity was always wont to distinguish persons and places by their garb or habit, whose authority and example cannot well be questioned by the skeptics and juniors of the present age."⁹

Blackstone, who was ill-requited for the kindness shown to Winthrop's party in their first extremity, remained for some time at Charlestown, in spite of holding different religious opinions from these emigrants;¹⁰ but Bright, perhaps having less patience, or because he held no land, took an early opportunity to return to England in one of the Plymouth Colony ships, the *Lyon*, sailing in June, 1630.

Francis Higginson proffered his services to the Company through Isaac Johnson, and about 23rd March, 1628/9, Humfry was instructed to visit Leicester; he was to find out whether Higginson could start immediately, and without scandal to his people, and with their consent; also Mr. Hildersham of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, that *malleus Brownistarum*, was to be asked if he approved of the appointment. The Company thought it better for Mrs. Higginson to go later, "towards Bartholomew," but they left that to the minister's discretion. Humfry was authorized to offer something for Higginson's "entertainment."¹¹

At the moment of Humfry's arrival, Higginson was expecting a

⁹ Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 113.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* To Blackstone is attributed the famous saying that he left England because of the tyranny of the Lord Bishops, but had merely exchanged it for that of the Lord Brethren.

¹¹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 37.

pursuivant to hale him before the authorities for suspicions concerning his orthodoxy. Mather gives a vivid account of the arrival of the Company's messengers, who pretended to be the pursuivant and his party, to the grief of Higginson's wife. The minister, however, fearlessly and graciously received them; on learning their errand he "consulted heaven with earnest supplications," as well as his clerical friends. He accompanied the messengers when they went to lay the matter before Mr. Hildersham, and that minister declared that had he received such an offer when he was a younger man he would have considered it "a plain invitation from heaven unto the voyage."¹² Hubbard informs us that "upon an address made unto him by Mr. Humfry and Mr. White, he [Higginson] looked at it as a call from God."¹³ It is improbable that White would have been a party to such a practical joke, so the "address" was most likely a copy of White's *Observations*, which, as Humfry was engaged in the distribution of propagandist literature, would have been handed to him; this contained the Biblical sanctions for emigrating, which must have struck Higginson as evidence of God's providence in laying the matter before him—this explanation of the address would be confirmed if an existing copy of the *Observations* was found, as some assert, among Higginson's papers.

Hildersham's approbation must have been obtained, and Higginson promptly journeyed to London, which he reached by 8th April, scarcely more than a fortnight after the instructions were given to Humfry. On that day he signed the propositions which were "reciprocally accepted" by Bright and Skelton, that they "would do their true endeavour in their places of the ministry as well in preaching, catechizing, as also in teaching or causing to be taught, the Company's servants and their children as also the salvages and their children, whereby to their uttermost to further the main end of this plantation, being, by the assistance of Almighty God, the conversion of the salvages."¹⁴ As Higginson had eight

¹² *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. I. p. 28.

¹³ *History*, I. p. 112.

¹⁴ *American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, III. p. 30b.

children, he was allowed 10^{li} extra,¹⁵ and was promised a man servant to look to his things, to catch him fish and fowl, and provide other things needful, and also two maid servants to look after his family.¹⁶

It may have been that he was warned that some of his fellow passengers held Separatist opinions, and that the Company must repudiate these, because of the necessity to have an "obsequious eye" towards the authorities; such a warning would account for the fervour of Higginson's farewell address, couched in these words:—"We will not say as the separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell Babylon! farewell Rome! but we will say, farewell dear England! farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there. We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the gospel in America'. And so he concluded with a fervent prayer for the King, the church, and state, in England; and for the present undertaking for *New England*," adds Cotton Mather.¹⁷

Less is known of the early life of Samuel Skelton. He had been a minister at Sempringham, was acquainted with John Cotton, and was, to some extent, impregnated with the Separatist opinions prevalent in that district. Cotton wrote that, before he left Lincolnshire, Skelton was "studious of that way", though later he considered that the Plymouth colonists had influenced him to accept their opinions.¹⁸ His library of fifty-five volumes, valued, in the list of 1628/9,¹⁹ at 10^{li}, certainly indicates that he was interested in the Separatist controversies raging in Holland. John-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁶ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I. p. 511.

¹⁷ *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. I. p. 328.

¹⁸ See below p. 148.

¹⁹ *American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, III. p. 30d. On the same occasion Mr. William Backhouse presented five volumes, including a folio English Bible in large print and "The Booke of Common Prayer"; of the latter it was boasted in after years that it never had been used.

son describes him as a "man of gracious speech, full of Faith and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above, to begin this great work of his, who makes the whole Earth to ring again at this present day."²⁰

But there was a fourth minister occupying a different position—Mr. Ralph Smith. The Company wrote of him:—"he hath desired passage in our ship, which was granted him before we understood of his difference of judgement in some things from our ministers. But his provisions for the voyage being shipped before notice was taken . . . and forasmuch as from hence there may grow some distraction amongst you if there should be any siding, though we have a good opinion of his honesty, we shall not, we hope, offend in charity to fear the worst that may grow from their different judgement. We have therefore thought fit to give you this order, that unless he will be conformable to our government you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant."²¹ Not only did they give Endecott this order, but they required Smith to give an undertaking "not to exercise the ministry within the limits of our plantation neither public nor private, without the consent and approbation of the government there established by us . . . and . . . not to disturb our proceedings, but to submit to such orders as shall be there established."²² He did not, then, have the approbation of White and Davenport, and he was suspected of Separatist leanings, which were considered so distinctly different from the opinions held by the other ministers that the Company contemplated preventing his departure. Their suspicions were justified;²³ at some time prior to 30th July, 1629, he reached the more congenial atmosphere of Plymouth,²⁴ where he exercised his gifts among the Pilgrim Fathers, was chosen to the ministry, and so remained for

²⁰ *Wonder-working Providence*, p. 70.

²¹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 390.

²² *American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, III. p. 30b.

²³ Hubbard, *History*, p. 121.

²⁴ See Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, II. 96; he was at Plymouth when Gott wrote.

sundry years,²⁵ until he was unable to give competent satisfaction.²⁶

These were the four ministers who arrived in New England in May-June, 1629. Bright, holding opinions coinciding with those of White, went to Charlestown, and afterwards returned to England; it is significant that he took passage in a ship which did not belong to the Company; a disagreement with his colleagues of the Council on the religious question upon which they adjudicated, would have rendered it difficult to obtain passage on a ship under the Governor's control. He passes from our ken. New England historians have told us nothing of his later career. On the departure of Bright and Smith, Higginson and Skelton were left in entire charge of the spiritual affairs of the colony.

But before the arrival of the ministers, a change had come over the spiritual aspect of the colony. The emigrants, who arrived with Endecott, suffered severely in the rigours of their first winter; the sickness was so serious and so prevalent, that the Governor called in medical aid. The Plymouth colonists, most generously, spared him their doctor, Fuller. He was one of their original party, which came over for the express purpose of obtaining liberty to worship God after their own fashion. He had been a deacon of Mr. Robinson's church, and was well versed in the way of discipline practised there,²⁷ which church its favourers derived from the English church at Frankfort, and that one made a profession of separation from all the reformed churches, not only with relation to rites and ceremonies but in discipline and church government.²⁸ No one familiar with the mentality of these Pilgrims can doubt that he took every opportunity to lay before his patients the only way to salvation. We know that he took occasion to expound it to the Governor, for, on his return to Plymouth, Fuller carried with him a letter from Endecott, who said that he rejoiced much because "I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward form

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 314.

²⁶ Hubbard, *History of New England*, I. p. 97.

²⁷ Hubbard, *History of New England*, p. 115.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

of God's worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me; being far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular."²⁹ Such acceptance of Separatist forms of worship was natural in the friend of Hugh Peter.

It was, therefore, to a settlement already in some degree influenced by Separatist ideas, that a couple of hundred emigrants, with four ministers, came in June, 1629. The gamut of variations between the extremes of Bright and Smith was reflected in the rank and file, just as among the earlier settlers there were the extremes of Conant and Gott. Among the new comers were two brothers named Browne, destined to take an important part in the subsequent proceedings. They came from Roxwell, that Essex village with which, directly or indirectly, a vast number of emigrants were connected, and with which, also, John White was so closely associated. The Brownes went out at their own charges, and, in consideration of the fact that they were emigrating in person, they had been placed on the same footing as adventurers on the payment of only 5^{li}. In the letter of 21st April, 1629, Endecott was informed that though they were "no adventurers in the generall stock," the Company was fully persuaded of their sincere affection to the good of the plantation. John Browne was a man experienced in the laws of our kingdom, and one who, they were persuaded, would worthily deserve Endecott's favour and furtherance, which they desired he should have. They appointed him, as well as his brother, a member of the Governor's Council, and ordered that, in the first division of lands, he was to receive two hundred acres. Samuel Browne was a merchant. Both brothers appear in the list of the Associates in the Charter, and John was sworn an Assistant

²⁹ Bradford. *History* ed. Ford, II. p. 90. A note is appended, showing that Fuller was more responsible than anyone for transforming New England Puritanism into Congregationalism, and pointing out that the arguments of Fuller so wrought upon Endecott as to produce a positive alteration in opinion, a point which is not fully sustained by evidence, as will be seen below.

before his departure. Nathaniel Morton describes them as "men of estates and men of port in Salem," and among the first Patentees.

It was not long after the arrival of the spring fleet that events^a began to take place. Unfortunately for the peace of mind of the colonists the Company had allowed the ministers great latitude, not doubting that they would agree lovingly together, and to cherish love between them, Endecott was begged "to carry himself impartially to all." "For the manner of the exercising of their ministry and teaching both our own people and the Indians, we leave that to themselves, hoping they will make God's Word the rule of their actions, and mutually agree in the discharge of their duties; and because their doctrine will hardly be esteemed whose persons are not revered, we desire that both by your own example, and by commanding all others to do the like, our ministers may receive due honor."³⁰ It will be remembered also, that all three were given seats on the Council of thirteen.

Hubbard, who had the opportunity of receiving first-hand evidence of the course of events at this epoch, presents a clear account of what happened, as well as the reasons which led up to the situation. Soon after their arrival, Higginson and Skelton,—Bright may have been already at Charlestown,—"that they might foreslow no time in the matters of the House of God," endeavoured to set up some public form of worship. But, unlike those of New Plymouth, they had not prepared beforehand any order or scheme of church government, which, by the way, was natural enough in view of their brief acquaintance with each other. But, Hubbard tells us, they were honest-minded men, studious of reformation, and disliked some things in the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, yet were not precisely fixed upon any particular order or form of government; "they had not as yet waded so far into controversy of church discipline, as to be very positive in any of those points wherein the main hinge of the controversy lay between them and others;" they were "*like rasa tabula*, fit to receive any impression that could be delineated out of the word of God or vouched to be

³⁰ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 387.

according to the pattern in the Mount." "Nor are their successors willing to own that they received their platform of church government from those of New Plymouth; although there is no small appearance that in whole or in part they did, (further than some wise men wish they had done) by what is expressed in Mr. Endecott's letter . . . or else good wits, as they used to say, did strangely jump very near together, into one and the same method and idea of church discipline. And it were well if Mr. Skelton, when he was left alone soon after by the death of Mr. Higginson, did not in some things not only imitate and equal, but strongly endeavour to go beyond that pattern of separation set up before them in Plymouth, in the pressing of some indifferent things, that savoured, as much or more than they of Plymouth did, of the same spirit; as in that of enjoining all women to wear veils, under the penalty of noncommunion, urging the same as a matter of duty, and absolute necessity, as is by some reported, as well as in refusing communion with the church of England."³¹

They certainly did not "foreslow"; Higginson landed on 30th June, 1629, and Endecott set apart 20th July for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher, and how very nearly they approached the pattern of Plymouth may be gathered from the evidence of Charles Gott, an eye witness, and apparently one of those "gravest members" he mentions.

The former part of the day was spent in prayer and teaching, the latter part in the election, which was thus carried out:—the two ministers, being questioned, acknowledged a true inward calling from the Lord, and an outward calling from the people "when a company of believers are joined together in covenant to walk together in all the ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers." Being satisfied of their fitness, Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor and Mr. Higginson teacher, whereupon Mr. Higginson, with three or four of the "gravest members of the church," laid their hands on Mr.

³¹ *History*, p. 117.

Skelton and prayed; after this "there was imposition of hands" on Mr. Higginson.³²

Unfortunately, he does not say how many were present, or what constituted the "church" before the election, but as thirty copies of the covenant were prepared, it is believed that thirty thought fit to vote were summoned. It seems reasonable to assume that the person actually responsible for these proceedings was the Governor himself, the friend of Hugh Peter and the disciple of Skelton and of Fuller. Higginson and Skelton are said to have crossed in the same ship, it is true, and may have considered the subject, but Hubbard says Hildersham had advised Higginson and other intending emigrant ministers "to agree upon their form of government before they came away from England," and obviously, between the 8th April, the day of signing the agreements, and the day they set sail, with all the business necessary preparatory to a voyage into the unknown, this was not done, otherwise, as Hubbard remarks, it "might have prevented some inconveniency that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles because they were not publicly professed and declared when the foundation of their church order was here laid in the beginning of things."³³ It is true that Morton says that Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton acquainted the Governor and the rest of the "godly people, whom they found inhabitants of the place, and the chief passengers that came over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation,"³⁴ but by the time he was writing this many wished to maintain that the Salem Church was not indebted to Plymouth and he had so far forgotten the course of events that he places the ordination of the ministers on 6th August, whereas Gott's letter describing it is dated 30th July. The twenty days after landing, full as they must have been with the business of disembarkation and the building of houses, which

³² Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, II. p. 93.

³³ *History of New England*, I. p. 118.

³⁴ *New England's Memorial*, p. 145.

was not done before their arrival, could have left the ministers little time to settle their church government.

The Covenant as given by Mather³⁵ contained nothing to offend churchmen; in fact it bears a certain resemblance to White's *Ten Vows*, but it was the conditions under which it was accepted or enforced, taken with the election and imposition of hands, that produced the resulting "form of church government."

It is uncertain whether the one hundred emigrants mentioned by Higginson at a later date, had all reached Charlestown; as house-building and other necessary work was required at Salem, probably a smaller body, perhaps with Bright, had started during the twenty days preceding the election. Morton speaks as if the godly inhabitants only were informed of the ministers' intentions, and Gott distinctly says that the Church was founded "notwithstanding all opposition that hath been here and elsewhere."³⁶ So, from the outset, the proposal was not received with favour by those then at Salem.

After this select body³⁷ had elected their officers, Gott says they proceeded in "the election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over,"³⁸ the 6th August being appointed,³⁹ and the Plymouth Church members were invited to at-

³⁵ *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. I. p. 66.

³⁶ Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, II. p. 93.

³⁷ It has been suggested that these thirty formed the majority of the settlers, exclusive of women, children and servants. In September, Higginson gives 200 at Salem; it is improbable that, in three weeks time, one hundred were already spared for Charlestown. The Company discouraged the emigration of women and children, certainly in the Higginson case; moreover, they had comfortable English homes, so would not have been left as a charge on the community as were the Leyden exiles, so the proportion of men was probably larger than at Plymouth, where roughly one-third of the Mayflower passengers were men, one-sixth women, and the remaining half about equally divided between children and servants. If 250 were at Salem in July, one-third would have been 83, and so the thirty would have numbered scarcely more than one-third; if only 200, the 63 would have still allowed a majority not present.

³⁸ Bradford, *Letter Book*, p. 67.

³⁹ It looks as if Bradford had altered Gott's letter, as the words in the text

tend "that they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assistance in a matter of that nature, wherein themselves had been but little before exercised," as Hubbard informs us. He adds that the messengers, Mr. Bradford and others, were prevented by cross winds from attending the ceremony, but arrived in time to give the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and success to those "hopeful beginnings," although Mr. Higginson's ideas on church government "were a little discrepant from theirs." Those not then present agreed afterwards to walk by the rules of the Gospel, but the manner of so doing they left to the wisdom of their elders; the establishment of church government, Hubbard says, was completed by the ordering of elders and deacons, and the church and their officers lived peaceably for a year, until Higginson's death.⁴⁰

But, as Gott hints, the Church established by the Governor, the ministers, and a small party, was not accepted by everybody then upon the Plantation; it savoured too much of Separation, which was not viewed with favour by those of John White's way of thinking. Conant, whose brother still held his Somerset living unmolested, Bright, and others, including, no doubt, many of those forty planters crossing in the *Lyons Whelp*, disapproved of the proceedings, it is believed, and their opinions were voiced by the brothers Browne, whose position, as associates, patentees, members of Endecott's Council, and one already sworn Assistant, should have commanded a respectful hearing.

Morton asserts, after observing that the ministers did not

of the *History* do not allow of the insertion of this phrase found in the *Letter Book*. The ministers, having simply expressed their intention to found a church, Morton says:—"after some conference together about this matter, they pitched upon 6th August for entering into a solemn covenant with God, and one another, and also for ordaining their ministers, of which they gave notice to the church of Plymouth, that being the only church that was in the country before them. The people made choice of Mr. Skelton . . . and Mr. Higginson." He ignores the election of 20th July.

⁴⁰ *History of New England*, I. p. 119. He gives the date of the ordering of elders and deacons as 9th August, and Higginson's death as 6th August,—a misprint may have crept in.

all use the Book of Common Prayer but administered Baptism and the Lord's Supper without any unscriptural ceremonies, and professed to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons by personal application of the Word of God, and even denied the admission of certain scandalous persons to the church, that, some of the new comers "began (Frankford-Fashion)⁴¹ to raise a deal of trouble," and Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother were the chief. They gathered a company, not in the place of public assembly, and the "Common Prayer-Worship" was "upheld among such as resorted thither."⁴² Among those present, it is most probable, considering their training, were Conant and the Dorchester emigrants, who would have been unlikely to accept so much of Separatism without some expression of disapproval, and would have joined in the opportunity offered by the Brownes to hear the familiar liturgy.⁴³ The Governor, taking notice of the growing disturbance among the people, convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers of departing from the orders of the Church of England, of being already Separatists, and as certain to become Anabaptists, &c., and they protested their own

⁴¹ See *Troubles connected with the Church of Frankfort*.

⁴² *New England's Memorial*, p. 145.

⁴³ It has been assumed that because the document printed by Daniel Appleton White, *New England Congregationalism*, p. 15, contains the names of Conant and other Old Planters, these all signed the original Covenant of 1629, but this document is the *Renewed Covenant of 1636*; nor can any inference regarding the order in which the first covenant was signed be drawn from the position of the names, as before Conant's is that of Philip Veren, who did not reach New England until 1635. That many, if not all, of the surviving Old Planters had joined the Church before that date is most probable; Endecott prevented the use of the religious services many preferred, and the only place of public worship was the church he had established, so they were obliged to attend this or none at all. To accuse them of inconsistency in receiving the Sacrament from the hands of an episcopally-ordained minister, or to say they became Church-members merely to obtain civic rights, though that was required, is to misunderstand entirely the difficult position in which these Puritans found themselves, being forced to accept what was unpalatable rather than leave the homes they had established. For persecution in the colony on account of religion see Adams, *Three Episodes*, p. 565.

intention to hold to the Church of England. The ministers denied being Separatists, or Anabaptists,⁴⁴ and said that they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but from its corruptions and disorders. They had suffered much for their non-conformity, and had come away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies to have liberty, as they considered these sinful corruptions, which they neither could nor would use.

The Governor, Council, and the generality of the people, Morton says, well approved the ministers' answer. Thereupon, finding the brothers of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the Governor told them that New England was no place for such as they, and sent them back to England in the ships returning soon after. Though they breathed out threatenings against the Governor and ministers, "the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it,"⁴⁵ though, as will be seen, this was hardly correct.

It is obvious from this account by a sympathizer that Endecott had no intention of allowing any non-conformity regarding his Church; he had learnt from Laud and King James how to deal with such offenders,—they must be harried out of his jurisdiction; and Plymouth had taught him that reading the Prayer Book in a place apart was a crime. When charged, the defendants, undoubtedly, vehemently protested that the tribunal was not competent to try members of the Council, Patentees, or an Assistant; the lawyer Browne would have pointed out that it was repugnant to

"Walker, *Congregational Church in the United States*, p. 106, proves to his own satisfaction that these ministers, in spite of their denial, were Separatists and Anabaptists. "By this laying on of hands Higginson and Skelton broke with the whole system of episcopal succession which Laud maintained, and illustrated the wholly congregational conception that it was within the province of every Christian congregation not only to choose but to ordain its own officers, a conception which has been held in its fullness only by Separatists and Anabaptists." It will be noticed that they still protested that they were not Separatists while announcing their firm intention not to use the Common Prayer Book as it was sinful.

⁴⁵ *New England's Memorial*, p. 147.

the Laws of England to condemn them for reading the Prayer Book. That was quite enough—their speeches merely increased their crime; with their practices they “tended to mutiny and faction.” The Governor required nothing more. And the Council? Two members were being tried, a third, Bright, was either absent or because of his opinions accounted disqualified; there is no evidence that the two Planters’ representatives had been elected; on the other hand the two ministers were present, either giving evidence or acting as judges; of the three to be co-opted by the entire Council we know nothing—not even whether they had been named. There remained only Graves and Sharpe. If they and Endecott, and perhaps the three co-opted Councillors, agreed, the case was settled and, moreover, power to enforce the verdict was in Endecott’s hands. To England they must go, as convicted criminals; their goods and chattels were valued by the prosecutors, and with all haste they were shipped back, in company with five condemned boys, in the *Talbot*, which, as it reached London on or before 19th September, must have sailed on its five or six weeks’ homeward voyage a few days after the meeting of 6th August. Swift and sure was the hand of justice in the early days of the Colony. With them also went a letter from the Governor to the Company, and probably another from the ministers.

The arrival of the Brownes and the letters caused consternation in the Company. Here was a dispute relating to matters of religion which was particularly dangerous when their newly acquired charter was attracting attention—members of the Council for New England would use it to discredit the Company and perhaps through this would obtain its revocation. Endecott’s own letter, to say the least, showed that he and the ministers had not been circumspect; he had based part of his charges upon letters of the Brownes, which he had opened and found to contain “strictures unfavourable to the colony,” so he forwarded their correspondence. The offence hardly justified this breach of custom, and the Company were reluctant to follow his example.

They proceeded cautiously; on 19th September their minutes

record the reading of Captain Endecott's letter and others concerning "a difference which had fallen out between the Governor and the Brownes"—no reference here to the ministers and church government or a trial—which they decided to submit to arbitration; the Brownes and the Company were each to choose three or four Adventurers to hear and determine the matter, and to end the business on the first Tuesday of next term—this limitation of choice kept the affair from publicity. The Brownes chose the two Vassalls, Whetcombe, and Pyncheon, and the Company,—White, Davenport, Johnson and Winthrop.⁴⁶ At the next meeting, ten days later, the question of the Brownes' correspondence was discussed; as it was "doubted by probable circumstances that they had defamed the country of New England and the Governor and government there," they decided that some letters should be opened and read publicly, and the rest were to be examined by the Governor, Deputy, Treasurer and Mr. Wright privately, who were to inform the Company "if ought be inserted therein which may be prejudicial to their government or plantation in New England"; furthermore, they thought it fit that the Brownes might have a copy of the accusation sent from New England, that they might be the better prepared to answer it,—rather a late concession.⁴⁷ The Brownes already had been placed at a disadvantage by the detention of their trunks, chests and other goods containing their evidences, and they only obtained possession by giving a bond, on 28th September, agreeing to pay their passage home and freight on their goods provided the Committee should so order.⁴⁸

There is no record of the Committee's decision entered on the "first Tuesday of the next term," but from letters and entries it may be inferred that it was, on the whole, favourable to the Brownes. On 19th October, the Company wrote to the ministers, Higginson and Skelton, saying that the Governor had sent the

⁴⁶ *Massachusetts Records*, p. 51. John White the minister is the one here mentioned.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 53.

⁴⁸ *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, Vol. 35, p. 253.

Brownes back "as men factious and evil-conditioned," and they had spread rumours of "divers scandalous and untempered speeches passed from one or both of you" in public sermons or prayers, and also of "some innovations attempted by you." The hope was expressed that these were unfounded, as "some of the Company" knew the ministers to be godly and quiet-conditioned, while they believed the Brownes to be embittered against the ministers and Endecott "for injuries which they conceive they have received from them." "Yet, for that we all know that the best advised may overshoot themselves," the ministers are informed of these rumours that they may clear themselves, if innocent, or, "if otherwise, you may hereby be entreated to look back upon your miscarriage with repentance, or at least to take notice that we utterly disallow any such passages, and must and will take order for the redress thereof as shall become us." Yet, hoping for their "unblameableness" therein, the Company hereby testify to all "that we are tender of the least aspersion, which, directly or indirectly, may be cast upon the State here," to which much duty is owed for the "much favour" bestowed by it upon the plantation where the ministers resided. With love and due respect to their callings, this letter was signed by the Governor, Deputy, Treasurer, and nine of the Associates elected the previous day.⁴⁹

To the Governor they wrote that they had told the ministers of the Brownes' rumours "concerning some unadvised and scandalous speeches" uttered in their public sermons and prayers; therefore they thought it meet to advise him of their reports against both the Governor and ministers, "concerning some rash innovations begun and practised in the civil and ecclesiastical government." While considering the Brownes likely to make the worst of anything they have observed in New England, because of "your sending them back against their wills for their offensive behaviour, expressed in a general letter from the Company there," they likewise take leave to think that, as Endecott is in a government newly founded, and lacks

⁴⁹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 407. Winthrop first appears as an official at the meeting of 15th October, and signs this letter.

"the assistance which the weight of such a business doth require," it is possible that "some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put in execution, which may have ill-construction with the State here, and make us obnoxious to any adversary. Let it therefore seem good unto you to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the State here, to which (as we ought) we must and will have an obsequious eye. And as we make it our main care to have the plantation so ordered as may be most for the honour of God and of our gracious sovereign, who hath bestowed many large privileges and royal favours upon this Company, so we desire that all such as shall, by word or deed, do anything to detract from God's glory or his Majesty's honour, may be duly corrected for their amendment and the terror of others." If he knows of anything spoken or done, either by the ministers, whom the Brownes seem tacitly to blame for some things uttered in their sermons or prayers, or any others, he is required, if any such things exist, to "form due process against the offenders and send it to us first, that we may, as our duty binds us, use means to have them duly punished. So, not doubting but we have said enough, we shall repose ourselves upon your wisdom."⁵⁰ This was dated and signed in the same way as was the letter to the ministers.

With the qualification that the rumours might not be true, no stronger reproof to both the Governor and ministers, could have been couched in polite language. The summons to repentance for any intemperate speeches on the part of the ministers, and the warning to the Governor not to put in execution suddenly any undigested counsels, either civil or ecclesiastical, with their final instructions that, in future, all such cases must be remitted to them for their decision, indicate a thorough disapproval of the course taken. This, coupled with the fact that Endecott was superseded in his governorship immediately by Winthrop, although this may have been already under consideration, suggests that the Brownes had made out a very strong case, but that the Company, in fair-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 408

ness, would await the arrival from New England of the denial or confirmation of the charges against their Governor and ministers.

Moreover, at the Court of Assistants, held on 20th November, there was a debate on the Brownes' complaint that their goods in New England had been undervalued and divers things omitted, and they desired relief and justice. It was decided that if they could produce proof, payment should be made, if not, notice would be taken of all their objections, and the new Governor, Winthrop, was to consider these and the "praisers" answers after his arrival in New England and decide the matter. Meanwhile, Mr. Cradock was "to pay the money charged upon him for the same."⁵¹

Almost the last business transacted before the departure of the new Governor, related to the Brownes. On 10th February, 1629/30, they desired recompense for loss and damage sustained by them in New England, and this, on consideration, the Company which was now carrying out the division of its duties, decided should be submitted to the arbitration of Mr. White and Mr. Eaton, two of the assistants remaining in England, provided the Brownes signed a written agreement to abide by the Company's final order for ending all differences between them, the arbitrators to hear their complaint and set down what in their judgment was requisite to be allowed for the pretended damage sustained "and so make a final end with them accordingly."⁵²

The natural inference is that the Company admitted responsibility for the misfeasance of their officials, whether because they were convinced of the truth of the rumours of the ill-advised actions—which in the event proved accurate—or because they feared the consequences of offending the State, is immaterial. Any such innovations in Church or State would have been distasteful to more than one of the Adventurers, and all recognized the dangers likely to ensue.

⁵¹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 60. It is gathered that he had been instructed to pay the sum fixed by the "praisers", and the additional amount claimed by the Brownes would be paid if they satisfied the Company that they were right.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

It has been too frequently insinuated that the Brownes sold their principles for hard cash, but such evidence as exists points to the Company's admission that much was actually due. When it is considered how large were the real financial losses they sustained, no charge of exchange of religious opinions for money can be upheld. They were men of good standing as lawyer and merchant, those occupations they relinquished on their emigration; they had paid some cash down, and were entitled to an allotment of land; they had paid their own passage, and provided their own supplies; without doubt, they had already begun to plant and build. Endecott had ruthlessly deprived them of all these as well as of prospective benefits, leaving them to begin life afresh in some other occupation; there was much that no monetary compensation would touch, and their insistence upon the payment of the uttermost farthing they could put down for material losses, was a claim to be expected from anyone similarly situated. To read into this that they accepted a mess of pottage is unjust.

With the departure of the Brownes from Salem in disgrace vanished the last hope of those who desired the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The whole incident proves the truth of the remark that "the persecuted when they acquire power will always persecute,"⁵³ and that toleration of other people's opinions had not been learnt by the emigrants. Indeed, toleration was not in fashion in religious circles at that period,—it was described by contemporary writers as the grand design, the masterpiece and engine of the Devil to uphold his tottering kingdom, a placing of poison in a child's hands, it led to soul-murder, and for an opponent to be allowed to serve God according to his own conscience was to cast out one devil that seven might come in. But for strong invective and frenzied denunciation, the curious reader is commended to sudy *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam*.

But, amid these frantic outcries against toleration, it is refreshing to read John White's words of warning to Winthrop in 1637, when Boston was in the throes of that terrible dispute:—

⁵³ Chalmers, *Political Annals*, p. 145.

"I presume not to give you advice, but desire you to remember that as liberty is sweet, so it is apt (as it is with sweet meats) to allure men to excess . . . I cannot insist in particulars, but desire you to have an eye to one thing, that you fall not into that evil abroad which you laboured to avoid at home, to bind all men to the same tenets and practice in things which, when they are well examined, will be found indifferent." This was ably backed up by Sir Richard Saltonstall, who warned John Cotton and John Wilson of Boston in these words:—"It doth not a little grieve my spirit what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New England. . . . These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you I have heard them pray in the public assemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity as to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." He warns them "not to practise those courses in a wilderness, which you went so far to prevent," and adds, "I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibilities of judgement, when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth that he knew but in part."⁵⁴

Two Adventurers, who thus wrote so strongly, must have been equally grieved at the treatment meted out to the Brownes.

⁵⁴ Hutchinson, *Collections*, II. pp. 127 *et seq.*, quoted by J. T. Adams in *The Founding of New England*, p. 261.

CHAPTER XIII

TRANSITION

AND

WHITE'S "INSTRUCTIONS FOR NEW ENGLAND"

1629

"The Utopian fancy of any projector may easily in imagination frame a flourishing plantation in such a country as New England; but to the actual accomplishing thereof there is required a good number of resolved people, qualified with industry, experience, and estate, to carry on such a design to perfection."

HUBBARD.

THE management of the colony and all other business of "The New England Company for the Plantation in Massachusetts Bay",¹ was meanwhile passing into other hands; a body, which included members of the earlier Company, was formed, and, under different circumstances, the settlement of "The Massachusetts" was undertaken, making the third company engaged in that task, viz.— (a) The Dorchester Company, which depended for the execution of its purpose upon fishermen and agricultural workers, hardy pioneers, fit to start a settlement and to exist for the most part on what the country produced; (b) The New England Company, financed by London merchants and of a more ambitious nature, which employed, besides the traders, a more educated class of colonists, who relied more upon supplies sent from home, and (c) The Massachusetts Bay Company, from which the merchants were, to a large extent, eliminated, comprised in the main of men of estate who were prepared to emigrate.

¹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 396.

It is not always recognized that, had not the “spadework” been done by the pioneers and those sent out by the merchants, the third party would have been in sorry case and could not have brought to perfection so easily the work upon which they were engaged.

White carries the movement through its various stages, from the time the Western Merchants left a party at Cape Ann, and does so in a manner which shows that he recognized the existence of these three distinct undertakings, which were inter-related. The moribund Dorchester Company, seeking assistance, conferred with gentlemen in London; their united effort, the New England Company, sent out Endecott. His prosperous journey gave such encouragement “that more adventurers joining with the first undertakers”, more servants and rother beasts were sent out,—*i.e.* in April–May, 1629.

Now, mark White’s words:— “By this time the often agitation of this affair *in sundry parts of the kingdom*, the good report of Captain Endecotts Government, and the increase of the colony *began* to awaken the Spirits of some persons of competent estates, *not formerly engaged*, considering that they lived either without any useful employment at home, and might be more serviceable in assisting the planting of a Colony in New England, *took at last* a resolution to unite themselves for the prosecution of that work.”²

Here White distinguishes between the “Londoners”, as they are sometimes styled, and the persons of estate from sundry parts of the kingdom. Endecott’s report, made on 18th September, 1628, could not have reached England in less than six weeks, and nothing that could be styled an increase of the colony took place until the ships arrived in the summer of 1629, so it was after the news from Endecott was known and the fleet despatched that persons of competent estate began to have their spirits awakened so that at last they decided to join the enterprise. These persons can be none other than the North country men, Winthrop, Dudley, etc.,

² *Planters Plea*, p. 43. The italics are mine.

for the list of members of the New England Company shows that the others were mostly of the merchant class, to be identified with "the merchants" mentioned to Emanuel Downing by Isaac Johnson.³

It should be clearly understood that the Dorchester Company ceased to exist when the New England Company obtained their grant from the Council for New England and took over the business; this is quite evident as the new body was not held responsible in a suit at law for the actions of the Dorchester men. But the position at the close of 1628, by which time application had been made for the Charter, is less clearly defined.

Letters and entries already quoted show that the New England Company began in November, 1628, preparations for the fleet despatched in the following spring, which, as the Assistants of the new company had not been sworn until 23rd March, were completed by the earlier company, though, doubtless, with the approval and advice of members of the new one.

The Charter passed the Great Seal on 4th March, 1628/9, and, after appointing officers for the immediate management of business, it was ordered that the election of such officers should be made at a General Court held on the last Wednesday of Easter term annually. In compliance with this order, an election took place on 13th May following, and the Massachusetts Bay Company was placed on its proper footing. But meanwhile, on 30th April, they had, under the appointed officers, elected Endecott governor of London's Plantation and also his Council, who were to hold office for one year "or until such time as this Court shall think fit to make choice of any others to succeed in the place of them or any of them."

The new management was now in the saddle and events began

³These companies were composed of three classes:—*Adventurers*, who invested money in the enterprise, *Undertakers*, who took active part in the business of supplying the Plantation, and *Planters*, who emigrated and settled in New England. Of course, all these attributes could be, and were sometimes, combined in one person.

to take place; something important was developing and things were moving towards its consummation.

Meanwhile, John White continued his interest in the Company, taking part in their proceedings occasionally. On 18th October, the Governor, Deputy, Mr. White, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Whetcombe were appointed to arrange the allotment of land in New England; the first dividend of land was to be made on the basis of two hundred acres to each Adventurer who had contributed 50^{li} to the General Stock, to others in proportion to their payments;⁴ all but the Deputy met the following day. White is mentioned as present at later meetings,⁵ but not as taking any active part.

It is not certain, though there is some ground for believing, that he formed one of the group known as "Mr. Cradock and his partners", more fully described as Mr. Cradock "with some particular brethren of the Company", deeply engaged in their private adventure and accounted worthy of great consideration because they were "special instruments for the advancing and strengthening of our plantation," having made such "good beginnings in the infancy" of it. This body retained a one-third share of the greater number of the different "ventures" sent in the fleet of April, 1629.⁶ It is possible that this body consisted of the "Old Adventurers", who had the control of the disbursement of the special fund known as the "Joint Stock", which was entirely independent of the Common or General Stocks. At all events, as he had gathered a contingent from Dorset, which sailed on the *Lyons Whelp*, White would have awaited the return of the ships bringing news

⁴It is worth noting that two members of the Dorchester Company and two of the later Company, with the Governor, were selected.

⁵"Mr. White the Councillour" does not appear in the lists of those present until 19th October, being there next below "Mr. White the Preacher." The Counsellor had been consulted just before professionally.

⁶They shared in material and services of the men then despatched, as well as in the provisioning of the ships, particular care being taken to record their third and the Company's two-thirds, and a report required that a division of profits in these proportions could be made. *Massachusetts Records*, I. pp. 399 *et seq.*

of the safe arrival of the emigrants at Salem, and would therefore have kept in touch with the Massachusetts Bay Company.

But it is possible that he found himself in somewhat uncongenial society; the influx of men from the North and East counties—some inclined to be pushing and over-zealous, and all likely to be affected by the Scrooby atmosphere, a taste of which, diluted through Skelton, had affected unfavourably the fortunes of men of his own way of thinking—may have kept him somewhat in the background, though, no doubt, he exercised some influence through his former colleague Humfry. About a year later, he must have learnt with some annoyance that one of that Lincolnshire contingent—who as late as 2nd March, 1629, had not paid their subscriptions—claimed that “we” had sent out Endecott and ships in 1628—so audacious a mis-statement has caused some editors to make it read “ships *were* sent out”—and described the inception of the colonizing movement in such phraseology that later generations have firmly and unquestionably asserted that these Lincolnshire men had originated the idea of establishing in New England, a refuge for non-conformists, that they, forsooth, had put forward their pious and religious purpose of planting the Gospel in New England in letters and messages to some in London and the West Country, that this innovation was considered, and negotiations ripened so that the Lincolnshire group—not Rosewell, Southcote, and others of the West—obtained a patent; that, in fact, until these men introduced religion, nothing but a fishing and trading business was contemplated.⁷

⁷ See Osgood's works and others mentioned below. Only three clergymen are known to have adventured money in the New England Company, White, Peter and Davenport, while a fourth clergyman, Jose Glover, subscribed 25li to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Bright, Higginson and Skelton were not adventurers but paid employees and Wilson and Phillips were similarly situated. The Dorchester Company, dismissed as merely a body interested in fishing and fur-trading, numbered twenty-one clergymen among its subscribers—which is sufficient evidence that the earliest company had the spread of the Gospel for its aim. The membership of the Dorchester Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company while in England, as far as the latter can be discovered, numbered almost exactly the same.

When White read Dudley's words, he must have recalled his own purpose, initiated in 1623, of providing religious instruction for the fishermen and *others of our nation*, by sending ministers to reside in settlements in New England, in which holy work he obtained the assistance, financial and otherwise, of twenty clergy holding kindred views to his own, as well as many Puritan laymen among his friends. As far as he himself was concerned, it mattered not that the good work he had begun was likely to come to fruition under these earnest emigrants, but his generous mind must have regretted that his fellow-labourers were thus slighted—in particular Roger Conant, who had "conceived in his own mind" that a settlement at Nahum-Keike might prove a receptacle for religious exiles, and by his steadfast faith, had shamed his comrades into remaining, and by his own labours and his personal management had provided a plantation for Endecott to govern.

Such thoughts as these might well have passed through White's mind, but he bore no malice, and, in the meantime, before this strange assertion reached him, he had set to work with renewed zest after the Charter had been obtained, encouraged by the intention of the newly-interested Adventurers to emigrate, and did what lay in his power to propagate the Gospel among the Indians, a matter which he had much at heart, and to establish a colony on a firm basis, under the management of educated and religious-minded men.

In fact, he took a very active part in promoting their scheme by urging others of similar capacities to join in this pious undertaking. At Cambridge at Commencement time, 1629, he addressed a company of divines and others upon the subject, pointing out the divine sanction, and urging the cause so earnestly, that Johnson wrote that "it had been an excellent time" for Winthrop, who was still wavering in his purpose, to have been present.⁸

Nor was this the only propaganda upon which White was engaged to further the cause. He prepared and circulated in manuscript certain "Generall Observations for the Plantation of New

⁸ *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 30.

England". As in the case of the inception of the religious purpose of the colony,⁹ the credit for this document has been filched from him. It is therefore necessary to deal with the dispute concerning its authorship as briefly as circumstances allow.¹⁰

The composition of this document has been claimed on behalf of Higginson and of Winthrop;¹¹ it is very significant that neither of them laid any claim to its production, nor did their sons, who would have proudly proclaimed a fact so much to the credit of their fathers.

It was first attributed to Higginson some century and a half after his death, by Hutchinson. He entitled a group of papers in his possession:—"Mr. Francis Higginson's Agreement with the Massachusetts Company, the Engagement of several of the principal Undertakers to transport themselves and Families. Mr. Higginson's Journal of his voyage, his Considerations in favour of the design of colonizing and his answer to the objections made against it."¹² The *Engagement*, of course, was the famous Cambridge Agreement, signed four months after the minister sailed; a copy may have been sent to him and have been found with other documents among his papers. Hutchinson gives no reason for his ascription of the authorship of the *Considerations* to Higginson. His attribution was accepted by Felt (1827), but disputed by Savage and Young (1846).¹³

⁹ Also in the case of the *Humble Request*, see below, p. 204.

¹⁰ To avoid confusion the word *Observations* will be used as a general term, to cover the varying versions which are sometimes styled *Considerations*, at others *Reasons*.

¹¹ And even of Sir John Eliot.

¹² Hutchinson, *Collections*, (Prince Society) p. 24.

¹³ In support of Higginson's claim is put forward his son John's statement, in 1662, that his father had laid before an assembly of many thousands—an impossible figure—at Leicester, some account of "his grounds"; John mentioned only "this one":—the mercy of the Patent in giving free choice of magistrates and that religion was the end of the Plantation. Neither of these "grounds" occurs in the *Considerations* and *Objections*, but a flight of fancy suggests that Higginson was likely to have reduced "his grounds" to writing in the above form.

Judging from the character of the document alone, Higginson's claim falls to the ground. It deals intimately with colonization schemes, the advantages of the Plantation and the reasons for the failure of previous attempts, and it also dwells strongly on the Continental reformed churches and the troubles of the Palatinate. No trace of any special knowledge on Higginson's part on these points has been discovered; no connexion with any colonizing company is known prior to the suggestion made at the end of March, 1629, through Johnson, nor, with such cogent reasons in his mind, would he have hesitated and required the advice of his fellow clergy before accepting such an obvious call, nor is he known to have had any special interest in the Palatinate. Moreover, the style of the writing is entirely foreign to that adopted by Higginson in any of his known works, in which, had he composed the *Objections*, some phrase from them would have been, in all probability, included.¹⁴ His claim to the authorship of the *Observations* cannot be sustained by any evidence and has been generally abandoned.

Winthrop was first proclaimed the author of the *Observations* almost exactly two centuries after his death. His knowledge of the early Plantations and their failure was not intimate. He held a post in the Court of Wards, which, with the management of his estate at Groton and his magisterial duties,¹⁵ kept him exceedingly busy; he had little time to study the subject of colonization, or that of the reformed Churches.¹⁶ Although his son was, for a short time, secretary to the commander of a ship sent to Rochelle, a clerk to a naval officer, there is no indication that Winthrop made any study of the religious question then involved, more than any other "man in the street."

¹⁴ His writings are:—Farewell to England, Journal of his Voyage, Letter to Leicester Friends and New England's Plantation.

¹⁵ Twichell, *John Winthrop*, p. 26.

¹⁶ The same biographer admits that he made only casual references, in his early journal, without comment, to public events such as the Spanish Match, news from Bohemia, etc., p. 21.

In his writings he,¹⁷ a lawyer, never adopted anything approaching the style, common among theological controversialists, found in the Observations. He had no connexion with any company engaged in planting in New England, nor, apparently any acquaintance with members of such, prior to the summer of 1629.¹⁸ In 1628 his son John was contemplating emigrating with a party, considered by his father "religious", but, in a letter of 9th April, Winthrop advises him to make the voyage only and not to settle;¹⁹ we may therefore infer that up to that date he had not in mind the sacredness of the duty of emigration, or he would have urged his son to make every sacrifice for the sake of religion. The first intimation that the purpose to emigrate himself was occupying his mind, is found in a letter of 15th May, 1629, to his wife, at the time that he anticipated losing his office, and then he only refers vaguely to seeking a shelter and hiding-place in these dangerous times, without hinting that New England interested him.²⁰ It was not until his son John's return from his continental journey that we hear anything regarding any document connected with this subject; the younger John acknowledges the "Conclusions", which received the approval of himself, his uncle and his aunt, but it is significant that he does not refer to them as *your* conclusions, nor when sending the latest news from New England, with the Observations and certain loose papers to his family, on 9th October, does Winthrop style them *my* Observations, and it is more significant that he uses the word *Observations*, the heading of the Public Record Office copy, and not *Reasons*, adopted in the complete version, written in his own hand. It should be remembered that it was in July that it was considered a good thing had Winthrop heard White's "Call", and it was at the very

¹⁷ Christian Experiences, Journal, Modell of Christian Charity and Arbitrary Government.

¹⁸ His son Henry went to the Barbadoes in 1628, where he failed to make good.

¹⁹ Robert C. Winthrop concludes that John proposed sailing with Endecott.

²⁰ It is clear that the possibility, and even probability, of departing the country was before him; yet, so far, nothing to show an eye turned towards America."—Twitchell, p. 35.

end of that month he travelled to Lincolnshire to make the acquaintance of Isaac Johnson, the friend of his brother-in-law Downing.

Taking all these points into consideration—lack of interest in plantations, or in the reformed churches, his sudden decision to emigrate to New England, and the unusual method adopted in the composition of the document,—the *probability* that he was responsible for the original Observations is the very slightest indeed.²¹

On the other hand, White's claims to the authorship are pre-eminent; no one was more capable of writing them, and to none had fallen such an opportunity.

He had, at this period, been the prime-mover in settlements in New England for some six years, he knew by experience their requirements and the causes of their failure, he desired the assistance in the future, as in former years, of the class of men to whom the sanctions of Holy Writ would appeal, and appropriate texts were at his fingers' ends. He was deeply interested in the reformed churches abroad, and especially in the religious troubles in the Palatinate, for that particular cause he had collections made in his church and town, he was intimate with Sir Thomas Roe, the Winter Queen's deputy, his brother-in-law, Burges, was chaplain to Sir Horace Vere's company, and many refugees came to Dorchester at his invitation.

The style of writing came natural to him and was adopted by him in his known works,²² especially in the *Planters Plea*—in effect, the first section of that book is an enlargement upon the same theme as that of the Observations. More important still, word for word, line for line, phrase for phrase, almost paragraph for paragraph

²¹ The question of the "Particular considerations in the case of J. W." does not arise, as these were drawn up after he had received "a lawful calling from the chief of the plantation, approved by godly and judicious divines." Among the latter may well have been John White, who was one of the two divines actively associated with the Massachusetts Bay Company at the time of the calling.

²² See below, Appendix II.

can be found duplicated, or at least paralleled, in printed volumes of his composition.²³

Not only do these facts point to the probability of his authorship, but there is a copy in the Public Record Office, endorsed by a contemporary hand, "White of Dorchester his instructions for the plantation of New England", so that the first assignment to him was not made one and a half or two centuries after his death.

In face of these reasons, the pretensions made many generations later on behalf of Higginson and Winthrop, sink into insignificance.

Robert C. Winthrop found, among his ancestor's papers, several documents containing the Observations in varying forms and with many additions; some of these papers he published as proof positive of Winthrop's composition of the original and only authentic version of the Observations, treating all other claimants as out of court. One copy he never published, one that has an important bearing upon the controversy. It is endorsed "For New England, May 1629", and is in Winthrop's own handwriting. Strange to say, this particular dated version more strongly resembles the copy endorsed "White of Dorchester his instructions etc." than any other found among the Winthrop papers. More remarkable still, there is internal evidence that it was copied from a set of the Observations with slight verbal variations, and it has a couple of marginal notes; in some parts it is identical with the White copy—where it varies it agrees with the Higginson copy, suggesting that all three had a common exemplar, the White copy being the nearest to the original.

This is capable of a simple explanation. White was occupied in urging the duty of emigration upon divines and educated men at Cambridge by word of mouth; to reach the absent and to drive home the plea, he used the written word in the shape of the *General Observations*.

In March 1628/9, Higginson received "an address," as Hubbard

²³ Doyle, *English in America*, I. p. 114, saw many resemblances, and where he was rather doubtful other books supplied the material; occasionally he misunderstands White through lack of familiarity with all his writings.

styles it, from Mr. Humfry and Mr. White, which had a powerful influence in convincing the emigrant that the proposal was a call from God. There is no evidence that White visited Higginson, and it is a reasonable assumption that the “address” was a copy of the Observations, and quite possibly the one found, it is believed, among Higginson’s papers. We may also assume that a document of such great value in the good cause of emigration was in great demand, and that White prepared other copies, adapted to the requirements of the intended recipients; he would have seen no necessity to transcribe the first one literally, his mind was saturated with the subject, and beyond a few notes originally made, as if for the preparation of a sermon, chiefly relating to the most suitable order of presentation, he wrote more sets of Observations, containing verbal alterations that made no difference to the sense; in this way slight changes and fresh matter were introduced, while other alterations and additions may have been made when a recipient himself copied them to send to a friend.

When one of these papers was lent to Winthrop, he proceeded to transcribe it with slight modifications, but, it is gathered, he intended to keep the original form and to enlarge and alter it to suit circumstances when he had more leisure; meanwhile he made a couple of marginal notes as he went along, one of these begins “Here may be added” and impinges upon the second line of the text, showing that it was written before the paragraph was continued.²⁴ There are interlineations made, correcting phrases to correspond more nearly with the White copy. Disliking, it seems, the heading of the paragraphs countering the Objections, *sol* for *solutio*, a form used by theological controversialists of the old school, Winthrop substituted *Ans*, for *Answer*, or intended to do so, but towards the end, where his handwriting shows signs of fatigue, he copied mechanically what was before his eyes after the fifth and sixth Objections, but recognizing the slips and not stopping to correct

²⁴ In the complete Winthrop version no such addition was made; the second note is attached to an Objection not given by Winthrop and is an insertion, by means of a caret, or a phrase.

them, he put *Ans* after the seventh Objection. The only known copy in which *sol* is used, and that attached to each answering paragraph, is the one endorsed "White's Instructions".²⁵

It is most unlikely that Winthrop composed either of these documents, his laborious method of working up his thought is evident from the carefully preserved rough drafts of the expanded Reasons, with their many corrections and alterations. No such drafts of the simpler form, except the above with its slight alterations has been found, and no one would suggest that even as unaltered, this sprang from Winthrop's brain in such clearly expressed phrases. Unfortunately, White's study was raided and all positive evidence was lost.

Winthrop's name first appears in the Massachusetts Records on 19th September, when he and White were appointed arbitrators in the Brownes' case. At that time the minister may have handed him a copy of the Observations particularly adapted to the requirements of the intending emigrant. Possibly this was included with certain loose papers sent home three weeks later, on 9th October, by Winthrop, who was too busy to attend to the matter himself, with instructions that Forth should copy "the observations and all that follows from the ~~the~~ and the letter at the end and show it to Mr. Mott and others that intend this voyage."²⁶ Already he had submitted a set of "treatises", embodying the Observations, General Conclusions and Particular Reasons of J. W., to Robert Ryece, whose criticisms show that these varied from the final version found among Winthrop's papers but resembled the Record Office copy; so it is evident that he was circulating in his own district the Observations and cognate documents just as White was doing elsewhere.²⁷

²⁵Although *Sol* disappears from the Winthrop copies, "answers and *resolutions*" and "answered and resolved" remain in his titles.

²⁶R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I. p. 336.

²⁷That Winthrop supplied Higginson with a copy is improbable. There is no evidence that they were acquainted while in England, and the minister died of a hectic fever soon after the governor reached Salem. The only reference Winthrop makes to Higginson is the statement that he died.

But there were others in possession of these and other writings, who were bent upon the same good work. White was closely associated with Denzil Holles, the member of Parliament for Dorchester, and with his fellow-prisoner in the Tower, Sir John Eliot.²⁸ As far as is known, Winthrop was not acquainted with Eliot. Correspondence between Eliot and John Hampden, in 1629, shows that the prisoner was whiling away the weary hours by preparing a pamphlet styled "The Project for New England". From internal evidence it is apparent that he had access to the following papers:—Higginson's *Letter from New England* and his *New England's Plantation*, a manuscript copy of White's *Planters Plea* and his *General Observations* and Winthrop's elaboration of the latter in a form similar to the complete version found among the Governor's papers.²⁹

Other copies of these documents were passing from hand to hand. Coddington obviously saw before his departure a manuscript of the *Planters Plea*, which had satisfied him as one of the godly-minded, because it gave the grounds for their removal out of Sodom, "viz. To propagate the Gospel and other grounds therein mentioned as well performed as that which was by John Humfry . . . dispersed into most parts of England."³⁰ Here he appears to be referring to another pamphlet similar in its object to, but containing further reasons than the *Planters Plea*. It proves, at any rate, that White's old friend and parishioner, Humfry, was particularly engaged in spreading propagandist literature.

There can be little doubt that White, the ready writer on theology, familiar with the requirements and the fate of plantations

²⁸ See below, p. 241, for White's visit to the Tower.

²⁹ See Forsters *Eliot*, II. p. 513. The words and phrases used are found in the above documents, but are far too numerous to be quoted; however, this is one specimen of the parallelism:—"The possibility of breeding of Kine which grow to a far greater bulk of body in that country than with us in this kingdom"—*Eliot*; "our own grains agree well with that soil, and so do our cattle: nay, they grow into a greater bulk of body there than with us in England"—*Planters Plea*.

³⁰ *Letter to Bellingham*, 16.

in New England, as well as with the troubles in the Palatinate, was the author of the original document, copied and known under different names, General Observations, General Considerations, and Reasons, especially as he is known to have been engaged in spreading the written word as well as using the spoken word at Cambridge.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY

1629

"Fear not, poor Muse, cause first to sing her fame
That's yet scarce known unless by map or name;
A grandchild to earth's paradise is born,
Well limbed, well nerv'd, fair, rich, sweet, yet forlorn."

WILLIAM MORELL.

THE method by which the patent of the Massachusetts Bay Company was obtained requires a moment's consideration. The story, as far as can be elucidated from recorded facts, contemporary statements and the inferences from both, runs somewhat after this fashion.¹

On 22nd May, 1622, the Council for New England issued a patent to the Earl of Warwick and his associates, Lord Gorges, Sir Robert Mansell, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, covering a tract of land "in the Massachusetts." Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, appears to have obtained a roving commission² from these patentees, for the purpose of discovering a suitable site for a plantation, and received an indenture on the lines of that issued by Lord Sheffield; having arranged for the establishment of a plantation on the "north east side of the Bay called or known by the name of Massachusetts" and surveyed its limits—enclosing an estate thirty miles by ten

¹ The evidence and details of the statements, I have prepared for publication, and give here only a bare outline.

² See p. 59 for that obtained by Richard Bushrod.

miles—he applied for a patent, and on the payment of 160^{li} a patent was issued in his name on 22nd December, 1622.

The Rosewell grant, obtained at the instigation of John White, was probably also an indenture. When it was decided to establish an important colony to which men of position would emigrate, the Rosewell concession on the north shore of the Bay was considered too restricted for this ambitious scheme, so the prime-movers, now in possession of the grant, presented the Rosewell indenture, proved that its requirements had been fulfilled at Salem, and asked for the promised patent, and also requested that such patent should include a greater extent of territory than the earlier grant covered. This is borne out by the fact that Saltonstall was called upon later to make a “map of the limits of those that live at Salem and at the Massachusetts,”^{2a} a distinction being thus drawn between the grants of those plantations.

At this time Warwick was President of the Council, and their scheme met with his approval to such an extent that he was willing to grant to them part, if not the whole, of the land covered by the patent issued to him and his associates in 1622. He therefore applied to all of them—this is inferred from the fact that he did certainly apply to one—for their consent; this he obtained except that Sir Ferdinando consented only so far as it did not prejudice his son Robert’s rights—which could have been done if only part of their holding was to be transferred. It may be that Warwick had carried negotiations too far to draw back, promising more than he could perform, or else he considered that the consent of the majority was sufficient to allow him to ignore Sir Ferdinando’s condition. At all events, at that moment he was not only President, but had in his possession the Council’s seal, and it was a simple matter to endorse their patent with his signature in his official capacity and attach the seal so that it passed the authorities without rousing suspicion; the whole business was probably completed before those interested—particularly Sir Ferdinando—discovered its true import.

^{2a} *Records of the Council for New England*, ed. Deane, p. 61.

By 1632 a strained situation existed in the Council, as the Records prove; the seal, for which Warwick had been asked more than once, was peremptorily demanded, and a committee was appointed to investigate the whole question of patents already issued; it was even hinted that some had been surreptitiously issued by Warwick.

But meanwhile the recovery of the rights to "the Massachusetts" had been rendered hopeless because the Bay Company had obtained the King's sanction of their grant by letters patent under the Great Seal, and these could not be cancelled unless evidence of misrepresentation were produced.

That events followed some such course seems almost certain from the evidence obtainable. Procedure of this sort would explain an entry in the Massachusetts Records, the full significance of which has escaped attention. Under 29th September, 1629, the very day upon which the transfer of the government to New England came up for consideration but was of necessity postponed, occurs this paragraph:—"It is thought fit and ordered that the Secretary shall write out a copy of the former grant to the Earl of Warwick and others, which was by them resigned to this Company, to be presented to his lordship, as he having desired the same."³ It would also explain the total disappearance of the patent received from the Council for New England, the return of which that body demanded but never obtained.⁴

The whole origin and constitution of this Massachusetts Bay Company, for some reason undisclosed, has been surrounded by mystery. We are handicapped in considering the course of events following the issue of the patent—and in these events White was taking an active part—by our ignorance of the agreement made between the New England Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company—an ignorance shared, at first, it would appear, by the Generality. How much of the proposed scheme was disclosed even to the Associates, is uncertain. How fully informed White was we

³ *Op. cit.*, I. p. 53.

⁴ *Records of the Council for New England*, ed. Deane, p. 60.

do not know, but probably he was aware of the scheme for the emigration of certain of the Adventurers, who had subscribed before the Charter was obtained, and of other of their friends who afterwards became Adventurers. Beyond that we can but surmise, for what happened can only be inferred from the records of the Company, and these are scanty enough; no minutes have been preserved of the Court of Assistants during the critical period between 21st May and 16th October, 1629.

It is, however, evident that the affairs of the New England Company were being wound up; after the report on the allotment of land by the Committee, of which White was a member, the detailed instructions to Endecott were engrossed, sealed and despatched by the last out-going ship of the fleet. The finances of the company were then taken in hand; all debts due were to be submitted to the General Court and then scrutinized by a committee of eight adventurers, who were to act as amateur auditors.⁵ At this same meeting there was also appointed a committee "for reducing all former orders into a method", those chosen being White, Davenport, Derby and Cradock, all familiar with the methods of the preceding companies; such orders as the Court confirmed were to be entered in a fair book kept for that purpose, according to the usage of other companies.

Financial matters were considered; the Company not being in cash, subscriptions were invited for the purchase of the *Eagle*, afterwards known as the *Arbella*; as the debts were found to amount to 1500^{li}, urgent demands were to be made for the subscriptions promised by the Adventurers, but not yet paid; a few matters relating to the plantation received attention, *e.g.* Endecott's complaint that "prophane and dissolute" traders sold guns to the natives.

⁵ Osgood, *American Colonies*, I. p. 132, quotes the appointment of these auditors as evidence that the Bay Company was at last placed on a business footing. They were unlike their modern professional namesakes, being merely certain adventurers, who were familiar with the early affairs of the company, appointed to act on this occasion only; when they reported on 25th July, upon these particular accounts, they ceased to exist as auditors, and no others were appointed to succeed them.

The ordinary routine was being followed when, like a bolt from the blue, at the very end of the General Court of 28th July, 1629, Governor Cradock read certain propositions:—that to induce persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and their families, it was proposed to transfer the government of the Plantation to those who should inhabit there and “not to continue the same in subordination to the Company here, as now it is”.⁶

This occasioned some debate, as well it might. Questions as to particulars probably elicited the names of some of the intending emigrants. Only two of those who crossed in 1630, one an Assistant and one of the Generality, were present on this occasion. Certain persons attending the meeting raised serious objections to the proposals; who were these worthy people of quality? may have been asked and, in reply, it would have been urged that, for the most part, they were members of the class accustomed to govern; as local magistrates they knew something about the laws of England—so indeed did John Browne; they were familiar with the agricultural requirements of English estates; they had money, and, moreover, had religious aspirations; altogether they were of a higher standing than the bulk of the Salem colonists. On the other hand, it would have been pointed out that these men had had no experience in adapting themselves to circumstances differing from those in England, such as the Leyden exiles had passed through; they were not merchants trained in business methods, nor familiar with the requirements of the fishing and fur trades; they had not had the experience necessary for pioneer work in the primeval forest, nor did they possess knowledge of the mentality of the natives; furthermore, they were in several cases already suspected by the authorities, of entertaining unorthodox opinions on church government, or at least were accounted factious.⁷ Some of these gentlemen had not been members of the Company long enough to understand its workings, a number, as far as can be judged from the Records,

⁶ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 48.

⁷ These accusations were so strenuously repudiated in the *Planters Plea* that they suggest that more than one was under suspicion.

had not yet attended a single meeting. In some respects they were not so well qualified as those already at Salem, and the Company's experience with their subordinate, Endecott, especially in matters relating to church government, showed the danger that would certainly arise if the Company allowed these emigrants absolute independence in the government of the Plantation.

Such arguments as these are likely to have been put forward, and, taking all things into consideration, it is not surprising that the Governor's proposal occasioned such heated debate that the decision on this weighty matter was postponed; those present were asked to write out their opinions for further consideration. Presumably the opposition had been so violent that it was feared that information might leak out and the authorities take steps to prevent the emigration, as we find that those present were warned "to carry the business secretly that it be not divulged."⁸

It must have been the development of this strong opposition which led the prime-movers of the emigration scheme to convene a meeting at Cambridge on 26th August, the eve of the next General Court. In the end an agreement was drawn up, to the effect that the signers would emigrate in person with their families in the following spring, *provided* that before the end of September the whole government, together with the patent for the plantation, were by order of the Court legally transferred and established to remain with those who inhabited there. This was signed by twelve men, two of whom failed to carry out their agreement.⁹

Whether White, or any besides the signers, attended this assembly is unknown, but, at all events, he was present at the General Court held in London two days later, at which this ultimatum was read.

Here was a new and more astounding proposition; not only were they asked to allow these emigrants to have the sole control of the Company's Plantation, but they were to relinquish the very

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹ Nicholas West and Kellam Browne; the latter, from Roxwell, was related to the Brownes who were expelled by Endecott.

corner-stone of their structure, the recently acquired charter; they were to risk their ventures by putting the management of the plantation, which had cost them so much in labour as well as money, their trading and fishing businesses, already established in New England, in the hands of these unknown and utterly inexperienced persons. It was a matter of great moment, and doubtless roused among the cautious traders a strong, perhaps a vociferous, opposition, but the minutes of the meeting record only the result:—the appointment of two committees to prepare arguments for and against the proposal; they were to discuss these points between themselves at 7 a. m. next day, and to attend the General Court adjourned until 9 a. m. The opponents of the proposition were represented by Wright, Eaton, Adams and Spurstowe; the favourers, by Saltonstall, Johnson and Venn.¹⁰

At the Court held on 29th August the two committees debated the question publicly, “before many of the Assistants and Generality”; twenty-seven in all are named as present.¹¹ At the conclusion of the debate, the Deputy put the question—whether the patent and the government of the Plantation should be transferred, if it could be legally done. The Ayes had it.

Although a committee was instructed to take the advice of learned counsel, there is no record of any opinion obtained, nor even whether it was sought. Quite possibly Counsellor White, already consulted about Endecott’s oath, was asked for an opinion; it is equally possible that he considered it a moot point, and advised them to risk the transfer, for when the patent was three thousand miles away the authorities would find difficulty in dealing with it—as in the event they assuredly did.

But that same committee had other matters placed before it; by what means the transfer may be done to correspond with, and not to prejudice, the government here; to consider of the time when it

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹¹ The Deputy, Treasurer, seventeen out of eighteen Assistants, eight of whom emigrated eventually, and eight of the Generality, one of whom, Davenport, emigrated.

will be fit to do it and on whom to confer the government and divers other circumstances material to be resolved upon. The Committee was finally appointed on 15th October, ten for the Adventurers and seven for the Planters,¹⁴ which was to draw fit and convenient clauses for insertion in an agreement, and report to the Court of Assistants the next day. It should be noticed that it was clearly intended to continue the "government" in England, as was eventually done.

But meanwhile another question arose at the General Court of the 15th October concerning the Joint Stock, and, as White took a prominent part in the settlement of this matter, a few words upon the subject will not come amiss.

From several references it seems probable that this Joint Stock was wholly independent of the "General Stock", and by this time was considered as ear-marked for one particular purpose. We know that the Dorchester Company established a Joint Stock, subscribed by Puritan clergy and laymen, with the object of propagating the Gospel in New England;¹⁵ that the remnant of that Company contributed its rights and property "as their share intended" to the New England Company, London merchants contributing money; also that a grant, probably in the form of an indenture, was made to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, on 19th March, 1628/9. About two months later 2150^{li} were subscribed to the General Stock of the Adventurers of a plantation in Massachusetts—certain persons, named below the agreement, had undertaken so much by their several and general stocks for the Plantation. An obscure and imperfectly transcribed paragraph appears to have been interpolated, complete in itself, "Subscriptions, to be by them adventured in the Joint, whereunto the Almighty grant prosperous and happy suc-

¹⁴ Those who debated the question were among the members. In the *Massachusetts Records*, p. 56, the two names at the end seem to have been illegible. Mr. Haven inserted "Mr. Down[ing]" as the last name. This is the only occasion in which his name appears in the proceedings in England and that seems questionable.

¹⁵ See above, p. 49.

cess, that the same may redound to His glory, the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the particular good of the several Adventurers, that now are or hereafter shall be interested therein." This seems entirely independent of the succeeding line, which refers back to the first sentence, "The persons to be made debtors to the General Stock being as followeth". The names and sums amounting to 2150^{li} are then given.

Other references¹⁶ point to a distinction between the two Stocks, and the discussions given below show that the Joint Stock had been used for its original purposes, and in carrying out the conditions usually required in the indentures, so there may have been a continuity of purpose in the disbursing of the Joint Stock, and in all probability it was kept entirely separate from the General Stock, to which subscriptions had been made for obtaining the Patent, financing the Great Migration and other matters appertaining to the new scheme.

Be that as it may, it was the Joint Stock which was under consideration on 15th October, when the question was whether "the Joint Stock, which had borne the brunt of the charges hitherto, and was likely to bear much more", should have appropriated to it certain monopolies. This was largely discussed, apparently with considerable heat, and the objections weighed; in the end "the Court fell upon a moderation" [a compromise],—that the Joint Stock for seven years should have the sole trade in beaver, and that the Adventurers in this fund should, in future, share equally with the Planters:—a) the charge of fortifications, with certain specified

¹⁶ The *Arbella* was to be purchased out of the General Stock; money expended in obtaining the Patent is not given among the Joint Stock disbursements; the indebtedness of the Company in July was placed at 1500^{li}, but the arrears of the Joint Stock in November amounted to 3000^{li}. The phrase used on the latter occasion runs:—"The accountant having made an estimate of the accounts, the Joint Stock appears to be in arrears", as if this was an item among other accounts. The "Old Stock" is applied at this time to the Joint Stock. The first business before Governor Winthrop was Cradock's bill for shipping expansion—incurred for the company, and Harwood was to pay two-thirds—not out of the General Stock, but from such money as came in. It is obvious that the Great Migration could not have been financed by this almost bankrupt Stock.

reservations, b) the expenses of ministers already sent and to be sent, c) the building of churches, and d) that all materials for fortifications and the ammunition already on the Plantation, should be delivered up for public use and its value credited to the Joint Stock. This moderation was read over several times and agreed to by vote. It should be noticed that this meant that responsibility for matters of public utility was to be divided between Adventurers and Planters; but such an arrangement had not the approval of the London merchants, for the next day a discussion took place. Now that the government of the plantation was to be transferred to New England, what government should remain in London, "whereby the future charge of the Joint Stock might be cherished and preserved, and the body politic of the Company remain and increase",¹⁷ which shows that there was no intention of terminating the existence of the company in England. After this was largely discussed, it was decided that "the Government of persons" should be held in New England, and "the Government of Trade and Merchandize to be here". As the Joint Stock was mutual both here and there, fit persons should be appointed for managing it in both places. This sharp division of the business of the Company meant the relinquishment of the divided responsibility for the public benefits of the Plantation.

But it was found that a great debt was owing to the Joint Stock, and, to expedite matters, the Governor and Treasurer were appointed to investigate the financial position. On their report, at a special meeting, it was decided that, as the details would occupy too much time, they should be referred to two committees, one of Adventurers and one of Planters, to consider how the benefit of the Plantation could be best attained. If they failed to agree "the umpirage and decision" was to rest with some of "the Preachers", *i.e.* White and Davenport, who were to give a written opinion, according to their consciences, of what was fit to be done, indifferently, for the good of the work and the encouragement both of Planters and Adventurers; Counsellor White was to draw up

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

articles for the performance of such agreement as might be reached.¹⁸ These articles of agreement for managing and settling of the Joint Stock, and for reconciling any differences that might happen upon this change of Government, were approved on 19th October; committees of Adventurers and of Planters were appointed, and Mr. White the Counsellor, Mr. White of Dorchester and Mr. Davenport were made umpires, and, further, they were to hold these positions until the end of this term, in order to settle other matters.

On 25th November, their report was read; notwithstanding good concordancy and fair proceeding, the greatness of the question and the smallness of the supplies prevented them from bringing the matter to the wished effect, but they submitted certain propositions. The accountant reported the Joint Stock in arrears to the amount of 3,000^{li}, but 1,900^{li} in subscriptions remained unpaid and about 900^{li} were expected from freight of ships. 3,000^{li} more were due for wages, supplies, merchandize, munitions and fortifications already undertaken. To meet these liabilities three courses were put forward:—a) that former Adventurers¹⁹ should double their former subscriptions, b) that all the goods &c. of the Joint Stock should be sold and the proceeds divided among the underwriters proportionably, c) that the Old Stock should be committed to the management of certain Undertakers, they to bear profit and loss for seven years and then divide the principal among the underwriters; and for this business the Undertakers should have 1) half the beaver trade, 2) the monopoly of salt-making, 3) the monopoly of transporting passengers and goods at fixed rates, and 4) the profits on a magazine supplied with provisions for the use and relief of inhabitants upon the Plantation.

Owing to the small number present the choice between these propositions was postponed. That there had been unseemly heat in the discussions is to be inferred from the motion made at the close of the meeting by John White, who brought to the attention

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁹ Those who had adventured originally in the Joint Stock.

of these pious gentlemen and traders, a matter of which they had completely lost sight in their commercialized scheme, the original purpose, or, rather, the first intention of this particular business, "which was chiefly the glory of God", and to that end he proposed that their meetings should be sanctified by the prayers of some faithful ministers resident in London, and whose advice on occasion might be required; the Court thereupon thought fit to admit to the freedom of the Company, Mr. John Archer and Mr. Philip Nye, who, being present, kindly accepted thereof. Mr. White also recommended to the Company Mr. Nathaniel Ward of Stondon.²⁰

At the meeting, on 15th December, the proposal to hand over the Joint Stock to ten Undertakers, under the conditions, and with the privileges mentioned, was accepted. The true value of the Joint Stock was to be assessed by a committee, consisting of Mr. White of Dorchester, Mr. Webb, Mr. Goff and Mr. Nowell; the first-named was exceptionally well-informed concerning the business with which he had been connected from the first. When all debts had been paid they estimated that the value of the Joint Stock would be one-third of the sum adventured from the first to the present day. After careful consideration and long debate, this was agreed to by the Court, which consisted of the three officers, eleven Assistants and twenty-five of the Generality. They unanimously agreed that the Old Adventurers, in lieu of this loss, should receive a double portion of land,—two hundred acres for every 50^{li}; that under certain conditions further subscriptions to the Joint Stock might be accepted; that the Undertakers, for their labours and risks, should have 5^{li} per cent. on all in and out charges, and were to manage the Joint Stock for seven years, having the before-named monopolies; at the end of that period, the principal and the profits, if any, were to be divided amongst the Joint

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63. Probably Henry, not John, Archer, incumbent of All Hallows, Lombard Street; Henry and John Archer are frequently confused, sometimes apparently, intentionally. Philip Nye, afterwards the famous Independent, then held St. Michael's, Cornhill. Nathaniel Ward was incumbent of Stondon Massey, afterwards the famous minister of Ipswich, Massachusetts, author of *the Simple Cöbler of Aggawam*.

Stock Adventurers in proportion to their ventures, the above privileges then to cease, and the Adventurers to be at liberty to dispose of their shares in the Joint Stock as they pleased.²¹

With some difficulty certain gentlemen of the Company were persuaded to undertake these responsibilities. For the Planters were appointed:—Winthrop, Saltonstall, Johnson, Dudley and Revell. For the Adventurers:—Cradock, Wright, Eaton, Goff and Young. These two groups had equal powers, and acted each for their own clients. Aldersey was appointed treasurer, a resident in England being naturally selected to receive moneys and purchase supplies in that country. He was authorized to make disbursements on a warrant, signed by three Undertakers.

Instructions were immediately given to the Undertakers to provide shipping; rates were fixed for the transport of passengers and goods, as well as for the supplies of the magazine, the Planters being required to purchase from it all it provided but could themselves order elsewhere articles not obtainable therefrom. As the Company could not enter into all details, it was agreed that the written orders of the Undertakers should be accounted legal "until it shall be thought fit by this Court to alter or determine the same". Finally, it was agreed that if, before 1st January, the Planters chose to undertake these risks and responsibilities of the Joint Stock, then these monopolies would cease, and all trade be free.²²

This option was not taken up as the Joint Stock is again mentioned as in existence in February, and Dudley, after his arrival in New England, refers to the Undertakers and the losses sustained by the Joint Stock. Moreover, during the seven years, the beaver trade was controlled, probably being strictly divided between the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 66. Osgood, *American Colonies*, I. p. 149, asserts that there was no magazine in the colony when Winthrop arrived, because John Peirce and Allerton were sent back to Plymouth for provisions [read *William Peirce and Bristol for Plymouth*]. Dudley's account of the condition of the colonists on his arrival, shows that all supplies had been used up, even an existing magazine would have been depleted, but as yet the Undertakers' Magazine had not been established.

Undertakers as a body and the colonial government; salt-making was not undertaken in New England, and, at the end of that period, certain private gentlemen in England were considering the establishment of a magazine for the benefit of the inhabitants, obviously to replace that which had been managed by the Joint Stock.

The assumption that no business was carried on, and that no dividend was made, is based on the fact that the Joint Stock transactions are not mentioned in the colonial records, but there can be no doubt that the Undertakers did carry on business, and kept their own accounts, which were entered in their own ledgers and not in the minutes of the Courts held in New England, these being confined to the business of local government which came before it. Unfortunately the ledgers of the Undertakers have not been found.

It will be gathered from the above agreement that the Joint Stock had ceased to fulfil its original purpose, that it had become the fund of a trading scheme, with the object of recouping the Old Adventurers for the money they had already expended for the benefit of the Plantation; the elaborate plan of sharing the expense of ministers, churches, public buildings, &c., between the Adventurers and Planters, had been abandoned, but to finance such public affairs the Court proceeded to establish another fund.

It is not known when, or by whom, this idea was originated; discussion in the General Courts had become so stormy that London ministers were needed to pour oil upon the troubled waters; at almost the very last moment acrimonious debates took place over the reduction in the value of the Joint Stock, and charges of something like deception were made; some complained that they had been misled; their subscriptions, intended for a trading proposition that went not forward, had been diverted into the deteriorated Joint Stock and their return therefrom proportionally reduced. But the majority having made their decision, no compromise of giving half to that fund and half to the Plantation could be entertained, it would upset the arrangement and could only be referred to the ministers for adjustment. Johnson refers to the three or four hours stormy debate on the doubling of subscriptions, and, on its

settlement, breathes a hope that "now we shall go securely on with the merchants".²³ It may, however, be assumed that White, Johnson and others, desiring to carry out that purpose first intended, suggested the withdrawal from the Joint Stock of all responsibility for the public benefit of the Plantation and the establishment of a special fund to finance that purpose. Such an arrangement seems to have been in contemplation on 1st December, when the agreement concerning the Joint Stock was drawn up, for new subscriptions to be "traded in the Joint Stock" were not to be liable for former losses, but, we gather, were to be subject to a certain deduction payable to the Common Stock for public uses, and Aldersey was to deduct this from the money received and pay it over to the Joint Stock.²⁴

At the General Court of 10th February, 1628/9, after stating that the Joint Stock was ordained for trade, and could not, without exhaustion, undertake the "furtherance of the Plantation", it was proposed to raise among those "bearing good affection to the Plantation and the propagation thereof", "a Common Stock, to be employed for the defrayment of public charges—as maintenance of ministers, transportation of poor families, building of churches and fortifications, and all other public and necessary occasions of the Plantation", and it was ordered that two hundred acres of land should be granted for every 50^{li} subscribed. Harwood was "chosen treasurer for this account of the Common Stock, to receive such moneys, and to issue out the same upon warrant, under the hands of any two of the Undertakers", from which it is gathered that the Undertakers of the Joint Stock were also to control the Common Stock. Orders, under seal, stating the purposes and privileges, were issued.²⁵ In this way the original purpose of the Joint Stock—the glory of God and the propagation of the Gospel—was transferred to the Common Stock, which, needless to say, was also

²³ *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 31.

²⁴ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

distinct from the General Stock of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

It was of this Common Stock, and its disposition, that Winthrop was asked, on 16th May, 1634, to give an account.²⁶ No previous reference to it occurs in the Massachusetts Records after the migration, which, as it was managed by the Undertakers exclusively, is not surprising. An examination of the account rendered by Winthrop discloses its identity with the Common Stock established on 10th February, 1629/30. He accounts for:— ammunition, goods distributed to the poor, disbursements for public services and the transportation of Mr. Phillips, the minister, and his family. He then proceeds to deal with his own expenditure while governor, for he had just been displaced by Dudley, after a considerable display of ill-feeling and even of distrust of the late Governor.²⁷ The fact that the Common Stock was, for the first time, brought before the General Court in New England explains Winthrop's pathetic request that "as it stands upon record that upon the discharge of my office, I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also; lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it."²⁸

It is significant that the order in the minutes of 2nd September, complying with this request, is immediately followed by instructions for a letter to be written by the Assistants "to Mr. George Harwood, Mr. John Revell, Mr. Thomas Andrewes, Mr. Richard Andrewes, Mr. Francis Kirby, Mr. Francis Webb, Mr. George Foxcroft and Mr. Robert Keane, etc., to entreat them to make choice of a man amongst themselves to be treasurer for a year for this plantation, and also to give them power to receive an account of Mr. George Harwood, now treasurer, and also to give the said Mr. Harwood a

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁷ See Stoughton's Letter with my comments in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LVIII. p. 446.

²⁸ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 132.

full discharge".²⁹ These gentlemen were all Adventurers resident in England. A reasonable surmise may be made, that circumstances had arisen requiring the consideration of the Court in England, and the endorsement of their proposals by the Court in New England.

It will be remembered that it was necessary to have warrants for disbursements from the Joint Stock, signed by at least three, and from the Common Stock by at least two, Undertakers. Of the five appointed for the Adventurers, Cradock was, as far as is known, the only Undertaker resident in England competent to act. Eaton had emigrated, Goff was probably disqualified because of his financial position and his quarrels with members of the Company, and whether Wright and James Young were living is unknown.³⁰ It may have been difficult, therefore, to obtain the required number of signatures in England, and Winthrop and Dudley were the only Undertakers in New England. In the year prior to the entry in the minutes Aldersey, treasurer of the Joint Stock, had died; it looks as if Harwood had acted as treasurer in the interim and had now rendered an account of the Joint Stock for acceptance by the Planters' Undertakers, and had taken the occasion to add his own account, as treasurer of the Common Stock. As this Stock was used for the benefit of the whole Plantation, it could properly be discussed by its representatives in the General Court; those present, being ignorant of the details of its distribution, had, in the existing circumstances, Winthrop having ceased to be governor, a right to ask for an account of his stewardship.

In some such way, the subject of the Common Stock may have come before the General Court.³¹

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128. Osgood, *American Colonies*, I. p. 180, styles these men "patentees", but only two of them are named in the Patent.

³⁰ Revell had been appointed a Planters' Undertaker.

³¹ In 1650 the General Court disclaimed all liability for debts incurred by the Joint Stock, pointing out that their records showed orders about "transferring the government and managing of the Joint Stock, which was sold to particular persons upon their own account," (III. p. 213), but the disclaimer does not include the Common Stock.

Yet the Massachusetts Records are not wholly silent upon the subject of the Joint and Common Stocks, as they contain evidence that, after the expiration of the seven years period, the engagement to provide land for the contributors to both funds was to some extent fulfilled; for instance, Edward Cooke was granted, in 1640, 800 acres of land "in regard of his father's 100^{li}, adventured in the Joint Stock,"³² and William Browne claimed 200 acres for "twenty-five pounds put into the Joint Stock by Mrs. Anne Harvey, his aunt."³³ Also it was under consideration whether 4200 acres should be granted to Isaac Johnson's executors "in respect of 400^{li} adventured in the Common Stock".³⁴ Samuel Cole was to have 400 acres for 50^{li} he adventured "in the Common Stock twenty-three years since."³⁵ We even find that Saltonstall, one of the Planters' Undertakers, was to have lands "in just proportion to his adventure, as other Adventurers or Undertakers".³⁶

Certain points, which have been completely misunderstood heretofore, emerge from a careful study of the Records, viz:— (1) that the Planters did not "buy out" the Adventurers, although before the Company was divided into two Courts, it granted to the Adventurers in the Joint Stock allotments of land in the territory it then possessed in compensation for losses sustained; (2) that the English section of the Company continued to carry on a trading business, holding certain monopolies for seven years,—it has been assumed that no business was transacted and no monopolies enjoyed because the records do not mention them; this is an absolutely unwarrantable conclusion as their business did not come under the purview of the General Court in New England, so could have found no place in the minutes of their proceedings, but would have been recorded in the Undertakers' ledgers, which have not been found; (3) that a publicly endorsed agreement between

³² I. p. 307.

³³ III. p. 155.

³⁴ III. 189.

³⁵ III. 147. There are several other entries referring to both Stocks.

³⁶ III. 48.

the Adventurers and Planters was fulfilled; if, as is so generally declared, it was not carried out, such a breach of a solemn covenant would have been an enduring blot upon the Planters' escutcheon.³⁷

³⁷ In later years the Common Stock appears to have been managed with several other charitable funds. Thomas Weld reported, in 1647, on money received "for New England, towards a Common Stock, the poor children, the college, the advancement of learning, the library, the poor of New England and the conversion of the Indians, from the time of our first landing there until this present 10th of 2d mo. 1647", and deals with the Common Stock and then with each of the other funds. There was also a "Country Stock", with which, it seems probable, the Common Stock was amalgamated. It may be mentioned here that the supposed inception of a House of Representatives on 9th May, 1632, has been "read into" a statement that the General Court appointed—they were not elected by the settlements—two from every plantation, whose only business was "to confer with the Court about raising a public stock." [I. p. 95.] Osgood, *American Colonies*, I. 157, accepts Savage's inference that, from that date, the Legislature was in existence, and assumes that these "Deputies" held a conference there and then, with the Court, on *legislative* as well as financial matters.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEPARTURE

"Religion never makes men stoicks; nor is it to be conceived that natural relations should be rent one from another without the deepest sense of sorrow, such a kind of removal carrying along with it so great a resemblance of departure into another world."

HUBBARD.

A BRIEF reference must be made to the proceedings of the General Court held on 20th October, 1629. It is to be regretted that John White was then present for, even if ignorant of legal technicalities, he must bear his share of the responsibility; it is lamentable because the proceedings show a curious mentality among men of strong religious convictions and tender consciences. White was not, however, associated with those strange shiftings and changings in later years when the Planters played fast and loose with the Charter,—if it chanced to suit their book they required strict compliance with its letter, on the other hand they would justify their own recognized breach of its conditions both in spirit and letter.

The Charter distinctly ordained that elections should be held annually on the last Wednesday of Easter term; only on the death or misdemeanour of an officer might he be replaced at an intermediate election. Office was to be held for one year. The number required for a quorum was stated unequivocally.

We have seen that the Company became divided into Old Adventurers and Planters and that after the ultimatum of the latter, a division of the business of the Company was made—trade and merchandize to be managed in England and the government of the

Plantation in New England. That division was discussed at a Court of Assistants held on 16th October, and in passing it may be noted that the question as to what persons were to manage the Joint Stock in London and New England has this paragraph attached, "wherein it is conceived fit that Capt. Endecott continue the government there, unless just cause to the contrary,"¹ which causes surprise at the subsequent proceedings. There had been dissatisfaction expressed at the proposed transfer of government, and it looks as if they were hedging to gain the support of Endecott's friends. At this meeting Winthrop and Dudley appear for the first time.

This Court of Assistants was followed three days later by something resembling a "caucus"—it is called simply "a meeting"—neither a General Court nor a Court of Assistants; there were present the Governor, the Treasurer, nine Assistants and six of the Generality:—Davenport, both Minister and Counsellor White, Hewson, Dudley and Winthrop. They proceeded to settle the business to be presented to the General Court on the next day, viz. the appointment of Committees and umpires to decide about the Joint Stock and that articles to implement their decision should be drawn up by Counsellor White for ratification. Quite at the end of the minutes is this paragraph:—"And at that Court the Governor and Assistants to be chosen for the Government in New England."²

At the General Court on 20th October the first intimation of that purpose, as far as can be judged, was made to the Generality by the Governor who "acquainted those present, that the special occasion of summoning the Court was for the election of a new governor, deputy and assistants, the government being to be trans-

¹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56. This does not appear to have been a meeting appointed on 15th October to draw up clauses for the Articles of Agreement and report the next day, for only ten out of the eighteen of those committees (excepting the names inserted by Haven and Shurtleff) attended on the 19th, while the Governor, Treasurer and five not named on the Committees were present then.

ferred into New England, according to the former order and resolution of the Company;" no reference was made to any resignation even of the former members who had been elected six months before—nor had any provision for resignation been made by the Charter, only for deaths and misdemeanours.

There were four candidates put forward, purely as a matter of form apparently, Winthrop, Saltonstall, Johnson and Humfry—neither Cradock nor Endecott—with a special recommendation of the first-named; Winthrop was chosen governor, Humfry deputy, and of the eighteen assistants elected, nine were Planters and nine Adventurers.³

This election was flatly contrary to the Charter, but illegality did not end there; by careful manipulation, because one did not come forward at a given time to take the oath, in other cases without any reason given, they substituted another Assistant more to their liking, either at a General Court or at a Court of Assistants, as chanced to be convenient—even Humfry, because he was to remain in England, was "discharged of his deputyship" and Dudley appointed. In the end seven Assistants sailed from Southampton and two from Plymouth. Nor even then did their unprecedented proceedings end, for the Governor and Deputy held office for eighteen months and after further juggling with the election of Assistants and their election of the Governor and Deputy, the election of Assistants was postponed for another year. More than this, contrary to the Charter, at "a Court held at Watertown," not Boston,—whether of the Generality or of the Assistants is not stated,—attended only by the Governor, Deputy and six Assistants, it was decided that if there chanced to be less than nine Assistants upon the Plantation, the presence of the major part of those thereon would constitute a legal Court "as if there were the full number of seven or more."⁴ At the Court of Election on 18th May, 1631,

³ It may be suggested that Winthrop was elected governor of the plantation only, yet he sat at meetings which dealt with the affairs of the original company before its division.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

only five were present, but apparently two would have been enough.⁵ But with these illegal proceedings after the departure of the emigrants White was in no way associated.

After the settlement of the Joint Stock business he devoted his attention to the arrangements necessary for the emigration of a company of Westcountrymen, gathered by him out of the three counties. The circumstances attending this particular enterprise require consideration, and if the suggestion made below is accepted as approximately correct much will be explained.

From what we know and what we are led to infer White and his friends thoroughly disapproved of the events in Salem in 1629, which had altered the character of one of the purposes for which the Dorchester settlements had been begun—*i.e.* the establishment of a refuge for non-conformists who were not Separatists. The form of church government adopted, the disuse of the Prayer Book and the expulsion of the Brownes may have revived White's purpose of establishing a plantation on land allotted to him, as Cradock had done,—a project he appears to have relinquished, as has been pointed out, when he had been assured that the Old Planters' grievances had received favourable consideration, and the arrangements made for this body of emigrants suggests that he had such an object in view. He carefully segregated them from the emigrants under Winthrop's leadership,⁶ two priests still officiating in the Church of England were selected to be their spiritual guides, and in person he attended the farewell ceremonies at Plymouth. It is further possible that these two ministers were to occupy a position somewhat similar to that of trustees as the early allotments of land at Matapan all bear their signatures with those of two laymen, Rockwell and Gaylord. It is possible that the two Assistants, Ludlowe and Rossiter,⁷ who held no such positions

⁵ For other points on which the charter was ignored see Stoughton's Letter with my comments in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, LVIII. p. 446.

⁶ It is significant that Winthrop does not mention this party except in a letter to his son.

⁷ John White advanced money to Edward Rossiter for transport of his

in the town, were included among the settlers in order to be the official representatives of the Bay Company.

The master of the ship in which these emigrants sailed, Thomas Squibb, a Weymouth man, was instructed not to land them at Salem, the destination of Winthrop's party, but to take them "into Charles River."⁸ The brothers Ralph and William Sprague from Fordington by Dorchester, who came over at their own charges, apparently in the *Lyons Whelp*, were personal friends and neighbours of John White. They were among those sent by Endecott to stake out the claim on the Charles River in order to forestall Oldham, and we find that in 1630 Ralph Sprague was appointed constable at Watertown. It was to that town the emigrants made their way after they had been landed, contrary to orders, at Nantasket; and there they began to erect a shelter for their goods, but not many days after they "had order to come away from that place,"⁹ and they settled at Matapan which they called Dorchester in honour of their revered friend John White.

Had White intended to establish a plantation upon the several hundred acres to which he was entitled he would almost certainly have asked Sprague, the pioneer with exceptional opportunities, to select a site, and events would have followed much as in the course recorded.

But whether White had in mind such a project or not, the company of Westcountrymen whom he had collected assembled at Plymouth; there is a possibility that certain of those from Dorset and Somerset embarked in Squibb's ship, the *Mary and John*, at Weymouth, White himself perhaps accompanying them, and sailed to the rendezvous. Here they would have found a warm welcome from Puritan friends; the then "Preacher of God's Word in the

people and goods from Weymouth to Plymouth, which makes it a plausible surmise that Rossiter did not reach the first-named port before the departure of the *Mary and John* and incurred unexpected expenses in following the ship to Plymouth, where they may have waited for him and filled the time by having a farewell service.

⁸ Clap, *Memoirs*, p. 40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

town of Plymouth" was White's intimate friend, Matthias Nicholls,¹⁰ and it may have been through his instrumentality that they assembled for a farewell service in the "New Hospital", evidently that known as the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, a recently founded Puritan institution on the lines of the Hospital at Dorchester, a place for "setting children on work" and for aged people to inhabit.¹¹

Because White took part in the services on this occasion a serious charge has been brought against him. It is asserted that he sanctioned the establishment of a church on the Salem model, and was aware, by his acquaintance with their conduct in England, that this body intended to repudiate communion with the Church of England. In view of what White wrote a month or two after this meeting concerning his total disapproval of Non-conformity, this is to accuse him not only of inconsistency of the rankest sort, but of utter disregard of honesty and truth. The only evidence produced is the description of the proceedings recorded by Roger Clap, one of the emigrants, but these do not warrant the inferences drawn from them.

After stating that their company included two magistrates, *i.e.* members of the Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay Company, these being Edward Rossiter, a man of estate in Somerset, and Roger Ludlowe, said to have come from Wiltshire, as well

¹⁰ Particulars concerning Matthias Nicholls and his friendship with John White will be found elsewhere. By his will, proved 10th October, 1631, he left 10li to the "New Hospital called the Poor's Portion," 5li to the "Hospital adjoining called the Orphan's Aid" and 13li "unto the Common Stock for New England, toward the advancement of that Plantation."—(*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 49, p. 251). The last bequest probably represented his adventure in the New England Company of 50li drawn down to one-third.

¹¹ It is difficult to say which of the two Hospitals it was, but as Nicholls gives the name New Hospital to the Poor's Portion it is possible the building was fit for use although the deeds relating to it were not signed until 4th May, 1630, some six weeks after the emigrants' departure. The other Hospital, the Orphan's Aid, had been established in 1615 for the same purposes by Puritans. With it was associated Thomas Fones, mayor of Plymouth in 1609, who may have been a kinsman of the husband of Priscilla Sherman-Fones-Paynter. (See p. 262.)

as other passengers of good rank, Clap writes:— “These godly people resolved to live together; and therefore as they had made choice of those two Revd. servants of God, Mr. John Warham and Mr. John Maverick to be their ministers, so they kept a solemn day of fasting in the New Hospital in Plymouth in England, spending it in preaching and praying: where that worthy man of God, Mr. John White of Dorchester in Dorset was present, and preached unto us the Word of God, in the fore-part of the day; and in the latter part of the day, as the people did solemnly make choice of, and call those godly ministers to be their officers, so also the Revd. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick did accept thereof, and expressed the same.”¹²

Clap was a Westcountryman and would not have been familiar with the customs followed by those of the East of England in the establishment of their assemblies. It was essential in the formation of a Non-conformist Church to have the covenant between themselves and God and between each other openly signed, to elect a teacher and a minister by popular voice, and to ordain by the imposition of lay hands. If any of these innovations took place, Clap would surely have mentioned it; but he merely says that they made choice of these clergymen to be their ministers and in the latter part of the day these godly ministers were called to be their officers—possibly of an office other than ministerial, such as trustees, as suggested above.

But whatever position they accepted we have White's own words to prove that he was not wittingly sanctioning the establishment of a dissenting congregation. He declared that Separation was an evil in itself and that Non-conformity showed contempt of “our” authority and tended to schism. Three-quarters of those already in New England could “justify themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our Church government and orders. Yea but they are weary of them now, and go over with an intention to cast them off? Intentions are secret, who can discover them; but what have they done to manifest such an intention? What

¹² *Memoirs of Roger Clap*, p. 39.

intelligence have they held one with another to such purpose? There passed away about 140 persons out of the western parts from Plymouth, of which I conceive there were not six known either by face or fame to any of the rest. *What subscription or solemn agreement have they made beforehand* to bind themselves unto such resolution? If that were forborne for fear of discovery, yet it concerned those who had such an intention to be well assured of a Governor that might effectually further their purposes."

Nothing could be more definite than White's statement that the congregation assembled at Plymouth had lived in a constant state of conformity, had not met before, had entered into no solemn agreement, *i.e.* covenant, and, above all, had no intention to cast off "our Church government and orders."¹³

John White was a conscientious priest who conformed to the government and orders of the Church of England. It is inconsistent with his known character to believe that he would have made such definite statements concerning the previous behaviour of the *Mary and John* company and their future intentions if he had had any inkling that they proposed to form a church independent of the Church of England.

As those who accuse him of inconsistency also declare that he knew from the behaviour of these men in England what their future course would be, we must consider what ground they have for this accusation.

Of the two ministers mentioned by Clap, John Maverick, of a Devonshire family, was rector of Beaworthy in that county from 1615 until his resignation just before he sailed.¹⁴ As far as is known he was unmolested by the ecclesiastical authority during his fourteen years incumbency. His son, Samuel Maverick, had already emigrated to Massachusetts, where his well-known attachment to the Church of England made him unpopular. The other minister, John Warham, had officiated at Crewkerne, Somerset, but was obliged to leave his post there because he "was repugnant in his

¹³ *Planters Plea*, [Force Reprint], p. 35. The italics are mine.

¹⁴ *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 69, p. 154.

principles to the Church of England," as a deponent in a Chancery suit stated forty-five years afterwards. In what respect exactly, does not appear, but he incurred the hostility of his diocesan, Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was "silenced or suspended," another deponent was not sure which. Whatever the offence discovered by that heresy-hunter, it was not sufficient to discredit him with the Bishop of Exeter, or to disable him from officiating in a Dean and Chapter living, St. Sidwell's by Exeter, just outside the city walls.¹⁵ Nor was he sufficiently advanced in his opinions to suit the New England point of view. Samuel Fuller wrote angrily to Governor Bradford that when he visited Matapan during the great sickness after their landing, he had conference until he was weary but Mr. Warham refused to abandon his belief "that the visible church may consist of mixed people, godly and openly ungodly," though he still hoped his propaganda might prevail.¹⁶ But Warham could not have withstood these assaults upon his faith very long, for it must be inferred from Clap's narrative that he fell in with the local custom and followed the advice of the Plymouth colonists given to Winthrop and carried out in August, 1630, when a select few at Boston took the covenant and ordained Wilson by the imposition of lay hands. Watertown formed a church in this manner at the same time and Johnson in his *Wonder-working Providence* declares that Dorchester was the third church established in the plantation—a statement which clearly contradicts the theory that it was formed before the emigrants sailed.

And Clap himself confirms this; he dwells on the hopes and fears experienced in the conversion of his soul, the questioning of a troubled conscience while upon his bed until he had full assurance

¹⁵ *Chancery Depositions*, 458/10.

¹⁶ Bradford, *Letter Book*, p. 74. He also wrote that Phillips, who signed the "Humble Request," told him privately that if Winthrop's party "would have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates of England, he will leave them." His whole letter is worth study as it shows the strenuous efforts made to impose Separation upon all the dwellers in New England and the bitterness towards those who opposed this. "Satan is busy," he says.

that he was elected, all of which, he says, took place *after* God brought him to this country, so that he was admitted "into the Church Fellowship at our first beginning in Dorchester" in 1630.¹⁷ After giving the names of many of those who came over with Winthrop, he adds "Then in those days did God manifest his Presence among us, in converting many souls, in gathering his dear ones unto Church Fellowship each with other, by solemn covenants."¹⁸ As he places this statement just after his reference to the newcomers, it may be inferred that no covenant was taken at Plymouth.

Regarding the other members of the company who came in the *Mary and John* no evidence has been produced to show their religious opinions, and as White was the prime-mover in gathering them out of the three counties, it seems more than probable that he chose those whose opinions coincided with his own rather than with Skelton's and Higginson's, of which he disapproved.

Immediately after the sailing of the *Mary and John* it is most likely that White travelled with all speed to Southampton, as Winthrop records that on 28th March he heard of the sailing from Plymouth,¹⁹—quite possibly the news was brought by White.

The larger body of emigrants had assembled at that more easterly port where the Planters held their last meeting in England on board the *Arbella* on 23rd March. They had, like those at Plymouth, listened to the exhortation of a famous preacher, John Cotton, who later left his pulpit at Boston in Lincolnshire for one in that other Boston, in New England. He chose for his text 2 Sam. vii, 10, "Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as beforetime."²⁰

¹⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁹ *History of New England*, I. p. 368.

²⁰ John Rous mentions this sermon and the rumour that in consequence Cotton was "prohibited from preaching any more in England then until June 24 next now coming."—*Diary*, Camden Society, 1856, p. 53.

The *Arbella* by the 22nd March was riding at anchor off the Isle of Wight, and on the 29th was visited by the late Governor, Cradock, who had interest in certain of his ships laden, at least in part, for his plantation on the Mistick. He made a second visit, while they were still becalmed, on 6th April; it may well be that White accompanied him on this occasion in order to lay before the Planters the famous *Humble Request*, which there is reason to believe he composed.

As White's authorship of this document has been disputed in modern times, it is well to give some of the reasons for assigning it to his pen.

Hubbard, writing in 1677, records a tradition then current among the early colonists concerning the *Humble Request*:—"It is commonly said that the declaration was drawn up by Mr. White, that famous minister of Dorchester, of whom there is oft mention made in this history; if so, it had a reverend, learned and holy man for its author, on which account a favourable acceptance thereof may be expected from any that shall vouchsafe to peruse the same."²¹

This tradition receives some support from a letter written by William Coddington in 1672, in which he mentions the contents of the documents signed on the *Arbella* by himself and others, "as in the printed paper yet extant may appear, and the *Planters Plea* (both printed the same time to satisfy the godly minded) wherein their prayers were desired and the grounds of our removal expressed, viz. To propagate the Gospel, and other grounds therein mentioned, as well performed, as that which was by John Humphry . . . that printed them, dispersed into most parts of England."²² He here couples White's known work with the *Humble Request*.

For negative evidence we have Mather's reference to the document in 1702, and it should be noted that, to judge from internal

²¹ *History of New England*, I. p. 126.

²² *A Demonstration of True Love*, p. 13. In this he violently attacks the signers for their failure to keep the promises then made.

evidence contained in his book, he had access to Hubbard's manuscript containing the above-quoted words. After lauding Winthrop he quotes this *Farewell* but does not say that the Governor composed it.²³

Nor did Winthrop himself lay any claim to it; it was not until his descendant, Robert C. Winthrop, two centuries after his demise, attributed it to the Governor that White's authorship of the *Humble Request* was controverted, and then merely because Winthrop's, the Governor's, name is the first among the signers, coupled with some fancied resemblance to his sentiments; but in so doing he has aspersed the integrity of his ancestor.

Let us consider the contents and the circumstances of its publication to see if even the probabilities point to its composition by a lawyer or by a clergyman.

The title runs:—"The Humble Request of His Majestys Loyal Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone for *New England*; to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England."

Its contents may be thus briefly indicated:—they refer to the "misreport of our intentions" and the rumours of "the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather, amongst us; for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world;" they earnestly protest that the "principals, and the body of our company, . . . esteem it our honour, to call the *Church of England*, from whence we rise, our dear Mother;" they acknowledge "that such hope, and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked from her breasts," and they will rejoice in her good and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall betide her. The prayers of their brethren are desired, and in return they promise to beseech God on behalf of those at home when they are in their poor cottages in the wilderness. It is signed by John Winthrop, Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Charles Fines, Isaac

²³ *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. I. p. 20. He speaks of the signers and says it was "of their composing" and it was "this address of theirs."

Johnson, Thomas Dudley, George Phillips, William Coddington, &c.²⁴

Its object was to convince clergymen and others that they were not schismatics and, as has been said, many of them were strongly suspected of that offence. Responsibility for rumoured irregularities in ecclesiastical and civil government had been repudiated by the incorporated company only six months before and they still felt it necessary to protest against such an imputation.

Was Winthrop in a position to sit down and with a clear conscience compose the above protest of affection towards our dear mother the Church of England? Arthur Tyndall's letter of 10th November, 1629, hints at the existence of a cut and dried scheme for the government of both church and state unlike those to which he was accustomed when he refers to "the Hierarchy of your church and civil government proposed and concluded among yourselves" and "the bond and way of piety and devotion which yourselves shall embrace and ensue."²⁵ Mather, in a lengthy *Apologia*, explains why "if it now puzzle the reader to reconcile these passages with the principles declared, the practices followed and the persecutions undergone by these American reformers."²⁶ It will be recognized that, serious an offence as it was to sign such a document with mental reservations, yet it would have been much more heinous to write out this perfervid appeal, in cold blood as it were, while in his heart Winthrop had already turned his thoughts towards a church government untrammelled by the Canons of the Church of England.

And the reasons given by Mather in explanation of these mental reservations are hardly such as will gain the approval of strict moralists to-day. His palliation is that the "dear Mother" to whom they expressed devotion, and for whose preservation they

²⁴ A facsimile has been issued by Wilberforce Eames and John L. Ewell. It has been frequently printed.

²⁵ Robert C. Winthrop, *Life of John Winthrop*, II. p. 413.

²⁶ *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. I. p. 20.

prayed, was, in effect, not the "Church of England as by law established" but an ideal Church, stripped of those "ill trimmings which at her first coming out of the Popish Babylon she had not fully laid aside." To such a dear Mother, though their brethren, abusing her name, had turned them out of doors, they wished no harm. With such reservations even Phillips, who repudiated from the outset the lawfulness of ordination by prelates, could salve his conscience and Winthrop had not then advanced so far,—either from conviction or for the sake of those at home he protested that the imposition of lay hands upon Wilson was merely a sign of election and confirmation, not a removing of his ministry received in England,²⁷ so he might have reconciled his conscience with the signing of the Request at that time,—yet at a later date, when Dudley, another signer, had some scruples in signing an assertion of their belief in all the articles of the Christian faith according to the scriptures and the commonly received tenets of the Church of England, Winthrop argued, vainly, that this meant "the faithful in England whom we account the churches."²⁸

Winthrop's admirers do him a disservice in attributing the composition of the *Humble Request* to him.

And as for White, what was his position? He was a God-fearing clergyman who had signed the Thirty-Nine Articles and still used the Prayer Book. We can acquit him, in view of his own writings at this time, of any knowledge of Winthrop's proposed scheme of church government. His belief in the good-faith of the Planters is evidenced by this strenuous repudiation of any Separatist tendency among the emigrants and his arguments in support of their innocence, which are given in full elsewhere, but above all by his declaration that Winthrop himself was well-known to have been "every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practice."²⁹

²⁷ Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. p. 30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁹ *Planters Plea*, p. 35.

As for the style of writing in the *Humble Request*, nothing by Winthrop known to us approaches it,³⁰ but there are many passages as finely phrased in White's introduction to his "Way to the Tree of Life" and his "Troubles of Jerusalem", while the few private letters of his remaining show his command of scholarly and religious language of which no evidence is found in lawyer Winthrop's writings.

If then, as seems most probable, White drew up this document with the whole-hearted purpose of showing the innocent intentions and faithfulness to Mother Church on the part of the Planters and at the last moment laid it before them for their signatures, its existence can be understood as part of his propaganda for the good cause.

Moreover, if Winthrop had been its composer, the reason is to be sought for the selection of the day for its signing. The ship he was on set sail on 29th March but was unable to proceed; each day thereafter he must have expected to leave his last port in England, so would have no opportunity to place the *Request* before his brethren, yet more than a week passed before it was signed.

If, however, as has been suggested, Cradock and White came together on board the *Arbella* on 6th April and produced the Request already written out, suggesting the importance of issuing it in the name of the Planters, it is easy to explain its date. As Mr. Johnson and others were on shore, the signing was postponed. If some hesitated, arguments may have been used such as the safety of the people at home and the benefit of a clean bill for the intended Plantation which might have been supplemented by the specious suggestion that their dear Mother Church was to be understood with certain qualifications, so that the doubtful ones yielded and seven signatures or more were attached on 7th April. But what happened is not actually known, for although the entry in his *Journal* for that and the preceding day are lengthy, Winthrop

³⁰ Ewell considers the style of writing more easy and smooth than anything he has seen from White's pen.

never mentions the existence of the *Humble Request*,³¹ but he records that on the next day, with a favourable wind, they weighed anchor and got through the Needles; their voyage to the New World was then actually begun.

White would have watched the disappearing sails of the fleet but his thoughts we cannot fathom; his mind may have dwelt upon the day, which might not be far distant, when he himself would launch forth on a similar journey,—a longing unfulfilled,—and it probably did not occur to him that his eyes would never again rest upon Governor Winthrop.

Perhaps with a sigh he turned to renew his labours for the benefit of the plantations in New England which had so long occupied his thoughts, and which heretofore had not fulfilled his expectations—hope may have revived with this new venture. Humfry, who must have been also present at the departure, had undertaken to have Cotton's *Sermon* and the *Humble Request* put into print and circulated throughout England,³² and he appears to have urged White to prepare for the press the manuscript of the *Planters Plea*, already in circulation, with additions concerning the new venture, for we read in Humfry's *Letter to the Reader*, prefixed to Cotton's *Sermon*, that with some difficulty he had obtained leave "of the Reverend Author to present unto thy view and consideration that which may in part give thee satisfaction" concerning the ground and warrant out of the Word of God for this undertaking. "Ere long (if God will) thou shalt see a larger declaration of the first rise and ends of this enterprise and so clear and full a justification of this design, both in respect of that warrant it hath from God's Word and also in respect of any other ground and circumstance of weight, that is considerable in the warrant

³¹ Nor does he mention it in a letter to his son written on the 5th April, to which a postscript was added later.—Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. p. 371.

³² This business and the wooing of the Lady Susan Fiennes, whose sister, Johnson's wife, had sailed in this fleet, probably caused him to relinquish his deputyship and stay in England.

of such a work, as (I hope) there will easily be removed any scruple of moment, which hitherto hath been moved about it.³³

In White's introduction to his *Planters Plea* he dwells on the deficiencies of this rude draught, wrested from his hand without being filed and smoothed for the press, it never having been intended for public view in this attire. He describes its arrangement under facts and opinions, he sets down his knowledge and dares not warrant his opinions as infallible; he appeals to those of better or more solid judgment to correct him in private and not to argue publicly upon matters "wherein neither God's glory nor man's salvation have any necessary interest (though the work be directed to and doth in a good measure further both)" at a time when "many weighty controversies in the fundamentals of religion are in agitation." After further entreaties to weigh his statements and arguments carefully before condemning them, he adds that "if it may be believed that the gentlemen that are lately issued out from us to lay the foundation of a colony in New England, have not been thrust forward by unadvised precipitation but led on by such probable grounds of reason and religion, as might be likely to prevail with men that desire to keep a good conscience in all things," he trusts they may be satisfied that those who wish furtherance of this design have a testimony from God and their own consciences that they have warrantable grounds and "direct themselves to a right scope."

In the text is the objection that "religion and indeed the colour thereof is the cloak of this work" and that "under it is secretly harboured faction and separation from the Church," that men of ill-affected minds mean to withdraw from our assemblies and unite into a body of their own, making the place a nursery of faction and rebellion, disclaiming and renouncing our Church as a limb of anti-Christ—this objection he meets with a direct reference to the *Humble Request*, signed by the Governor and his associates, acknowledging the grace received from the Church and professing to

³³ *Introduction to John Cotton's Sermon*, British Museum, Tract C. 93, f. 7 (16).

share with her good and evil, which ought to remove such groundless guesses at their intentions. The jealousies of an evil-affected mind should not "sway" against this joint assertion of so many godly men of good estimation. But if their words are not enough, their deeds in the past should suffice. It is well known wherever they have lived that they are not of turbulent or factious dispositions, nor have they been convicted of separating from our assemblies, nor have they refused our ministry but have joined us in the worship and service of God. Let any offenders be named. If they have been peaceable heretofore, why should "they become factious upon a sudden;" if there has been unity, what has stirred up a spirit of division. Possibly, he admits, as there was one Judas among the Twelve, there may be two or even ten factiously inclined, but the rest should not therefore be condemned. He concludes, "I persuade myself there is not one Separatist known to the Governors, or if there be any, that it is so far from their purpose as it is from their safety to retain him amongst them."³⁴

It is perfectly evident from this that he had no knowledge of any tendency to faction amongst them so could have written the *Humble Request* with a clear conscience.

It may be argued, he continues, that though they are not Separatists "they dislike our ceremonies" and will prove semi-Separatists, going to New England to be free of our government; but even this he will not allow. He gives a clear definition, as well as his opinion, of the difference between Separation and Non-conformity:—"the first we judge as evil in itself. . . . but other Churches that conform not to our orders and ceremonies we dislike not, only we suffer it not in our own; not that we adjudge the disusing of ceremonies simply evil, but only evil in our own men, because we conceive it is joined with some contempt of our authority, and may tend to a rent in the Church; but yet neither can this imputation be charged justly on our New England Colony." He then mentions the conformity of at least three-quarters of those who had already

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

emigrated and the orthodoxy of those who had recently sailed from Plymouth.

To the suggestion that the ministers, "who will sway in the orders of the Church," are "unconformable," he answers that neither all nor the greater part are so, though a fully conformable minister could not be expected to leave a certain maintenance and at such hazard trust the Providence of God for the support of himself and family. He admits that necessity may press some, novelty or hope of gain draw on others, but the most, and the most sincere and godly, have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope; some may hope for greater liberty regarding orders and ceremonies of our Church, but that they are far enough from "projecting the erecting of this colony for a Nursery of Schismatics, will appear by the ensuing faithful and impartial narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progress of the whole work."³⁵

He sums up thus:—"the suspicious and scandalous reports raised upon these gentlemen and their friends (as if under the colour of planting a colony they intended to raise and erect a seminary of faction and separation) are nothing else but the fruits of jealousy of some distempered mind, or which is worse, perhaps savour of a desperate malicious plot of men ill-affected to religion, endeavoring by casting the undertakers into the jealousy of state, to shut them out of those advantages which otherwise they do and might expect from the countenance of authority."³⁶

Thus strenuously, with no uncertain voice, did he defend the Planters and show his own earnest desire that the colony should not be corrupted by Separatism like that at Plymouth, or factiousness like that at Salem, and in faith and trust in the integrity of the Planters he wrote this panegyric immediately after their departure.

Sad news of the misfortunes awaiting the Planters on their arrival was brought back by the returning ships. Dudley, in his letter, describes the miserable condition of those already at Salem who through sickness and the severe winter had been obliged to

³⁵ *Planters Plea*, pp. 33 *et seq.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

consume all available supplies so that when the emigrants arrived they found none of the expected preparations and such a scarcity of food as they had not anticipated, a sorry welcome for those arriving in a debilitated condition after an unusually lengthy voyage, with the result that Winthrop was obliged to ask William Peirce of the *Lyon*, who put in on his way from New Plymouth to England, to arrange for the immediate despatch of supplies from Bristol.

Humfry, left in charge of affairs by the Planters, complained in a letter to Johnson that the report of their miserable condition checked the flow of subscriptions; he commented on the lack of brotherly love shown by the brethren, and when the design of the Plantation was given over as lost, to make things worse few showed any affection to save those who were likely to perish. Many fled from promises underwritten, some flatly denied that they had made any promises. Those most depended upon blamed rather than pitied the poor brethren, laying on loads when they should have eased the burden. Some gave chiefly in hope of business recovery. When friends were most needed, as usual, they were most lacking, brotherly love and conscience of duty had lost their vigour. "Wherefore, if we will neither blemish the Gospel, nor bring upon ourselves that contempt and reproach of the foolish builder, we must sell our states and bear our burdens."³⁷

But all were not to be included in this condemnation.³⁸ White was no fair-weather friend, he took prompt measures on behalf of the sufferers; before 12th September, 1630, he had obtained 150^{li} from Humfry, which sum was supplemented by generous contributions from friends interested in the colony, perhaps amounting to another couple of hundred pounds or more. With this fund he purchased supplies in Cornwall through the agency of George Way and des-

³⁷ *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 3.

³⁸ John Rogers, the famous minister of Dedham, received a lamentable letter from a former parishioner, John Page, who "certified that unless God stirred up some friends to send provisions" they would all starve, so he sent the younger Winthrop twenty shillings to buy such a barrel of meal as that would reach unto, to send Page as "it cuts me to the heart to hear that any of our neighbours should be like to famish."—Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. p. 47n.

patched to New England a generous amount of meal and peas for the relief of the poor sufferers. *Bis dat qui cito dat*, yet this gift obtained for the colonists has passed unrecorded except for Winthrop's casual statement, when called to account for the Common Stock, that he had received "some meal and peas from Mr. White of Dorchester in England and from Mr. Roe of London, which was bestowed upon such as had need thereof, in the several towns, as also X^{li} given by Mr. Hewson," besides certain articles received from Humfry.³⁹ No doubt an account that was outstanding as late as 1640 relates to this matter. Attached is the assertion by White, written in his own hand, that he had incurred expenses for "the goods sent for relieving of the poor people in New England" to the extent of 179^{li} 12^s 0^d, and that the contributions received had not amounted quite to 130^{li}; he had made up the balance apparently, so that there remained 49^{li} 12^s 0^d due to Mr. Allerton, who seems to have undertaken to collect this sum from "they of the Bay." The Governor, at that moment Thomas Dudley, was ready to authorize the payment provided that he received a legal statement that White had not already discharged the debt:—"Mr. White having no moneys in his hand for that business" there being "no reason Mr. White should" pay it; it is sufficient that he "procured the gift."⁴⁰

He had also generously helped individual emigrants, among them Edward Rossiter, to whom he advanced 106^{li} 9^s 9^d for himself and thirteen persons who sailed in the *Mary and John*, some part of which remained unpaid two years later. He sometimes balanced accounts on opposite sides of the water; on behalf of Ludlowe and the above settlers he had paid Deutch, a fisherman, 20^{li}, and on receiving an account for 11^{li} endorsed by Endecott as due to John Elford from "the Adventurers of this Plantation",⁴¹ he had allowed George Panchard, Elford's father-in-law, to take goods to that

³⁹ *Massachusetts Records*. I. p. 130.

⁴⁰ *Massachusetts Archives*.

⁴¹ It is interesting to find him dealing with this debt incurred in 1628, probably on behalf of the Dorchester Company. From such records as survive Elford appears to have been thoroughly unprincipled; like Deutch he was a sailor.

amount from ships in England in his, White's, name; meanwhile Elford had received full cash payment from Governor Winthrop and after four years had not repaid White. These debts he forwarded to Pyncheon to collect in New England, with the result that White received a letter from Winthrop himself⁴² regretting that he was troubled with these accounts for, as stated in a former letter, he had paid Elford and arranged for the payment of Deutch.

White's interest in the affairs of the Plantation did not meet with the full approval of his parishioners; at the time when he was collecting food and money for the sufferers on the Plantation, one Anne Samwaies, widow, of Dorchester, was accused of speaking unseemly words of Mr. White, "that he did starve the country, and did join with the Devil for money, and would be a merchant and a farmer for his profit, and did send provisions to New England in a colour to convey to Spain" and other unseemly words for a quarter of an hour's space.⁴³ Nor did the minister find favour with his neighbours. Thomas Jarvis of Lyme Regis was heard to say when in Dorchester that "all the Projectors for New England business are rebels, and those that are gone over are idolators, captivates and Separatists." When warned of the seriousness of these charges, he declared that he would maintain them before the Council, and added that the magistrates at Lyme were "shewmakers," and when questioned as to what he meant, said they were a company of hypocrites and dissemblers.⁴⁴

In spite of attacks at home and some dissatisfaction with the doings upon the Plantation, White retained his interest in the colony in New England which had been firmly established upon his

⁴² Found afterwards in the raid upon his study in Dorchester.

⁴³ Mayo, *Dorchester Municipal Records*, 15th September, 1630, p. 594. Somewhat later, 1636, another parishioner accused White of malversation of funds, quite possibly insinuating that they were sent to New England; he said that Trinity Parish formerly had a stock of 800*li* to maintain their poor and now "Mr. Mayor and Mr. White did send Monday morning after the Sacrament to the Churchwardens for the money given at the basin and what became of it he knew not and desired to suffer for it."—*Ibid.*, p. 596.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 657.

foundations. At the end of the seven years' period in which the Undertakers managed business affairs, White wrote an interesting letter to Winthrop, showing that he had the welfare of the colonists much at heart. "I have often heard at what hard rates necessities for clothing especially have been sold amongst you for which, I confess, I have been much grieved as that which I am certain will consume you by degrees. I have many times had conference with my friends here to lay their purses together to send over needful provisions and to sell them at 25^{li} per C. free of all other charges. We had done something that way but that Mr. Nye informed [us] that divers gentlemen of note had taken the matter to heart and intended to raise a sufficient stock to furnish all the colony with necessities upon the same terms that we intended only requiring that none should trade with interlopers who perhaps might mar their market.⁴⁵ Sir, I am not worthy to advise those that understand more than I can do yet I know that lookers on may see more than such as play the game. I conceive the condition to be very equal, considering the gentlemen's intention and cannot see how it may be prejudicial to any unless perhaps to some few that desire to engross commodities to sell them at a dearer rate and so to take away from others the benefit of a good market enriching themselves by their necessities, an old mischief which hath proved a moth to many states and may be better prevented in the first forming of a state than remedied afterwards. I know it will be pretended that all manner of restraint is prejudicial to liberty and I grant that the name of liberty is precious so it is liberty to do good but no farther. Now the good which ought to be respected is *Bonum publicum* not *Privatum Commodum*. *Salus populi suprema lex* [sic] was wont to be the rule now I would fain know what the general shall gain by making half a dozen rich by pinching more than so many thousands. Sir, I conceive the offer made to be such an advantage unto you, if it be entertained as will not easily be recovered, if it be neglected. I hear shopkeeping begins to grow in request amongst you. In former ages all kind of retailing ware

⁴⁵ No evidence that this scheme was carried into effect has been found.

(which I confess is necessary for men's more convenient supply) was but an appendix to some handicraft and to that I should reduce it if I were to advise in the government. Superfluity of shopkeepers, innholders, &c. are great burdens to any place. We in this town where I live (though we are somewhat reformed that way) are of my knowledge at charge 1,000^{li} per annum in maintaining several families in that condition which we might well spare for better employments wherein their labours might produce something for the common good, which is not furthered by such as draw only one from another and consequently live by the sweat of other men's brows. . . . I wish two sufficient men were sent over with sufficient instructions to conclude an agreement with these gentlemen who are so well disposed towards you. I should besides think it very convenient and almost necessary to send on for fishing, which is the first means that will bring any income into your land, two or three good masters that might bring with them each half a dozen good boatmasters and three or four good splitters⁴⁶ in all, would keep you a good number of boats at sea; and this would soon bring in many of your own men to be fit for that employment."

All through the period between the departure of Winthrop and the date of the above letter White had desired and hoped to join the company now settled in the Massachusetts. This very letter begins "Although it please God to deny me that which I have not so long expected as desired the opportunity and means to do that holy society with you service in mine own person," and in another, believed to be of a slightly later date, he writes:—"I much rejoice to hear of the welfare of yourself and the rest of my friends unto whom I cannot but present my hearty affections although God deny me the happiness to see your persons." He may well have agreed with Winthrop's anonymous correspondent of 1636/7—if indeed it were not himself—"Whereas my spirit is naturally far from pragmatistical, inclining to the other extreme, I have been much moved of late to write and yet whether ever I shall come

⁴⁶ Men employed to "split" fish for drying, etc.

over unto you, I know not, for I desire to do the work of God, and to glorify him here or there, living or dying; and I have found the Lord's special presence with me now of late (praised be his name forever) in such remarkable manner as I never found the like before and I can but enjoy his presence in any part of the world. Only this I say, that if God send me to you, for I wait upon him, I shall not unwillingly go."⁴⁷

Although his desire was never fulfilled⁴⁸ it is evident from what has been said, that he had exercised a very great influence upon the fortunes of the Colony from his first inception of it as a refuge for troubled consciences down to the date of the above letters; the fact, not sufficiently recognized, is that he was the mainspring of the enterprise; he was instrumental in starting the settlement at Cape Ann and his strenuous efforts enabled the colony to survive until the larger venture was conceived and executed, largely through his own exertions—all these combined entitle him to the name, which has already been applied to him, of

THE FOUNDER OF MASSACHUSETTS.

⁴⁷ *Winthrop Papers*, 449.

⁴⁸ It has very frequently been stated positively that White visited New England; there is no scrap of evidence, and the fact that he says as late as 1637 that he had not gone over seems conclusive.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TEN VOWS AND THEIR MISAPPLICATION

But there are great odds between peaceable men, who, out of tenderness of heart, forbear the use of some Ceremonies of the Church, (whom this State in some things thinks fit to wink at, and it may be would do more if it were assured of their temper) and men of fiery and turbulent spirits, that walk in a cross way out of distemper of mind.

Planters Plea.

THERE is an interesting link between White's work at home and the religious movement in New England which in later years departed widely from its original purpose, developing so that both ecclesiastical and civil government were united under the rulers of the State—in spite of their bitter denunciation of Laud and his rule on somewhat similar lines.

We have seen how strenuously White had maintained the innocence of the intentions of the emigrants of 1630; while admitting that certain might hope for greater liberty in the use of some orders and Ceremonies of the Church of England, might even, when varying in civil conversation in a newly-established colony, make some alteration in church affairs, yet this was far from projecting a "nursery of schismatics". He had then no conception of the development which eventually occurred, and of which it grieved him greatly to hear.

Before his arrival at Dorchester, the town possessed a somewhat unsavoury reputation, and in the course of his work in the reformation of its character, he drew up a series of ten vows, resembling an exposition of the Prayer Book Exhortation to "those who mind to come to the holy communion", as is indicated by

Laud's endorsement of his copy,¹ "By Mr. White of Dorchester, Catechemus ante Eucharistia."² It was his custom—in a similar way to that which at this day obtains in many parishes—to assemble his parishioners on the eve of the Sunday upon which once in the month he administered the Sacrament. On this occasion they listened to his exposition of their duty, and when he read over the Ten Vows, as embodying the rules of life to be observed,—a counsel of perfection,—they signified their acceptance by saying "Amen".³ Although certain persons, cleric and lay, accounted this a work of supererogation, nothing contrary to Church doctrine or government could be found in these Vows, especially as those who did not openly accept them were not denied the Sacrament, though they were requested to forbear partaking.

This method of awakening the consciences of their parishioners to fulfil their baptismal and confirmation vows, was adopted by many of the earnest Puritan ministers within the Church, and there existed a number of such "covenanted congregations." For instance, in 1607, while at Worksop, Richard Bernard, White's friend, "did separate from the rest one hundred voluntary professors into covenant with the Lord, sealed up with the Lord's Supper, to forsake all known sin, to hear no wicked or dumb ministers and the like",⁴ and a similar covenant taken in Holland by Paget was described by Ainsworth as "one that an Arian, Anabaptist, Papist (and who not that professes Christ?) will make also."⁵ For such simple covenants against evil the Separatist had no respect.

A brief account of White's "Ten Vows" will prove that they were

¹ This is believed to have been found by Prynne in his study at Lambeth.

² *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 535, No. 153. See also Robert Pouncey's case; he refused to "go to Mr. White the minister to be examined before he came to the Sacrament." Mayo, *Dorchester Municipal Records*, p. 596.

³ In Ironside's criticism of the Ten Vows, mentioned below, they are said to be too solemn to be made for the people by the mouth of the minister and ratified by their "Amen", in their preparation for the Sacrament.

⁴ Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, II. p. 157. See also that the Separatists counted that he had fallen from grace—apparently because he did not make the covenant compulsory.

⁵ Paget, *Arrow against the Separation*.

such as any member of the Church of England might conscientiously accept.⁶ In an introductory exhortation he reminds his parishioners of the sufferings of the churches in the Palatinate and other places on the Continent, of which they had heard so much from refugees living in their midst, and he warns them that unless they repent, a similar fate will overtake them.⁷ He points out their lukewarmness both in zeal for God's truth and in love of their brethren also their deadness of heart, pride, self-love, seeking the things of this life, contentions and envying of one another; therefore, for the lifting up of weak hands and the strengthening of feeble knees, "we bind ourselves by a solemn vow and covenant unto the Lord" to endeavour to our power to practise the ensuing duties.

The first vow reads "To cleave vnto ye true and pure Worship of God established according to his owne ordinance, opposing ovr-selves to all wayes of Innovacion or Corruption or either to ye vttermost of our power."⁸ The remainder deal with (2) reading and meditating on God's Word, (3) instructing our children and families in the fear of the Lord, (4) calling ourselves to strict account for our failings, (5) submitting to brotherly admonition with meekness, but when administering the same to others to avoid groundless suspicion and slanders, (6) entering speedily into reconciliation with each other concerning differences, (7) forbearing the clogging

⁶ There are two copies in existence—*State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 538, No. 153,—the copy Laud endorsed—and *Boswell Papers, Add MS.* 6394, f. 159; the latter is wrongly endorsed by Sir William Boswell "Articles & Couen: of Mr. White of Gloucestre, &c. to his Parishioners, communicants &c", evidently a slip of *Glou* for *Dor*. The copy answered by Gilbert Ironside, *State Papers*, Charles I, 375. No. 74—see below p. 222,—obviously contained other variations, so that White, just as in preparing his *Observations* he made no servile copy, also varied the Ten Vows in wording but not in sense, when preparing copies for Peter and others.

⁷ He dwells upon this point in the second Objection in his *Observations*. "We have feared a judgement a long time but yet we are safe. . . . It is likely this consideration made the church beyond seas, viz. the Palatinate, Rochelle, to sit still etc.," and adds the terrible fate that overtook them.

⁸ In the version found in the *Boswell Papers*, the words "in doctrine" are inserted after "corruption".

of our hearts with worldly affairs and avoiding ways of gain adjudged scandalous by the godly-wise, 8) endeavouring to further the Gospel at home and abroad by offering ourselves and our estates in the Church's service, (9) taking to our hearts the distress of afflicted brethren by prayer and generous gifts, and (10) by taking account of each other to stir up one another to a careful examination of how we have fulfilled these vows.

Such an endeavour to raise the moral tone of his parishioners was, not unnaturally, a stumbling block to clergymen who were disinclined to do the same, hence the use of these vows, although voluntarily undertaken, was represented by some as contrary to the customs of the Church and likely to lead to Separation therefrom. One of White's neighbours, Gilbert Ironside, rector of Winterbourne Abbas, into whose hands a copy had fallen, in 1637 wrote an elaborate treatise to show their evil intentions, but his denunciations are chiefly against the use of vows other than those at baptism and confirmation as unnecessary, and the particular objections he brings forward do not, for the most part, well counter the statements. However, he discovered in the Vows, as was to be expected, Puritanical tendencies which were likely to encourage "schism in the church and rebellion in the State." Brotherly admonition presented difficulties,—who was to decide which were the "godly wise," and were such capable of giving judgment on questions of title and custom. He objected to the warning in the introduction and the advice to express sympathy with persecuted Christians abroad by adopting similar diet and apparel; while such prophecies of desolation led to many mischiefs, such as "neglecting of callings, faint-heartedness in the people, disaffection in the present governors, turbulent commotions at home, needless fruitless plantations abroad"—a well-aimed dart at the end, shot at the Founder of the Bay Colony. But the document throws some light upon their use, proving that they were not employed by White as a touchstone to exclude the ungodly from the Sacrament,—a matter of great importance. John Ball, White's friend, perhaps kinsman, whose Catechism he used in Dorchester, plainly states this distinction

in the course of a dispute he carried on with the New Englanders about the time Ironside was engaged in answering the Ten Vows. "As for the Covenant itself, which you mutually enter into, if therein you exact nothing but what God requires both for trial and stipulation, far be it that we should disallow it; but if you constrain men to meddle with things that belong not to them and wind them up higher than God would . . . a sober mind may well pause before he make such promise."

These Ten Vows, innocent in themselves, binding only between God and man, came to be used, with slight modifications, as a covenant which the assemblies formed into Independent Churches required should be signed publicly before those whom they considered fit were admitted into Church fellowship; anyone accounted unsuitable or who was unwilling to bind himself to their strict observance was excluded as ungodly.

These Vows were in existence certainly before 1628, and a copy must have been in the possession of Hugh Peter, who about that date was associated with White in the New England Company. In 1633 Peter became minister to the English Congregation at Rotterdam, which already, according to Rathband,⁹ had taken a voluntary covenant. With some slight modifications and additions, making fifteen in all, Peter used White's Vows as a compulsory covenant, declaring, as one of his congregation complained, that "unless we will all subscribe to this his Covenant we shall not be admitted to the Lord's Table, neither old members or new, so that it seems to me our Church formerly was no church, but what authority he hath to do these things, I know not; for he himself saith the Church of England doth tie the conscience of men to do this and that, and he for his part in this his Covenant tieth both conscience and purse."¹⁰

Endecott was a friend of Peter and desired his presence at

⁹ *A Briefe Narration of some Church Courses*, 1644. British Museum Tract, E. 36 (11).

¹⁰ Letter to Alexander Brown, *Boswell Papers*, Add MS. 6394, f. 150.

Salem¹¹; no doubt he had in his early days imbibed from him and from Skelton a similar conception of the necessity of introducing a compulsory covenant on the foundation of a new church; such an idea was strengthened, as we have seen,¹² by Dr. Fuller's propaganda, with the result, stated by Winslow, that the newcomers, finding a commonwealth and church established at Plymouth, "they did advise with us how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship",¹³ so, not unnaturally, he was advised to follow their custom and make the covenant an excluding one.

The Covenant imposed at Salem was innocent in itself, much resembling in substance White's Vows, but the difference caused by this imposition as a touchstone of Church Fellowship at once became apparent on the arrival of the emigrants in 1630, when such godly men as Winthrop, Dudley and Johnson were denied communion, and the baptism of Coddington's child was refused because they belonged to no church which had required the signing of a covenant,¹⁴ a fact which brought down upon Skelton a strong reproof from Cotton—who had not yet travelled so far in "the New England Way"—accusing him of having become contaminated by the Plymouth men.

Winthrop's party appear to have entered into a voluntary covenant, either before sailing—as seems probable from Tyndall's letter referring to the "hierarchy of your church and civil government concluded among yourselves" and the "bond and way" of devotion embraced—or else while at sea. In his "Modell of Christian Charity", a sermon preached on the *Arbella*, he says, "Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into a Covenant with him for this work. We have taken out a Commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own Articles,"¹⁵ which, if they were

¹¹ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 385.

¹² See above, p. 144.

¹³ *Hypocrasie Unmasked*.

¹⁴ A member of Lathrop's congregation—where advanced views, including compulsory taking of a covenant, prevailed—was admitted.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 64. The word Articles is attached to one copy of the Ten

not strictly kept, "the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us, be revenged on such a sinful people and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant." That the sickness that afflicted them on their arrival in New England was considered a judgment because their covenant had not been acceptable to the Lord, is evident from the report received by Fuller and Winslow, that Winthrop believed the hand of God "was upon them and against them at Charlestown, in visiting them with sickness, and taking divers from amongst them, not sparing the righteous, but partaking with the wicked in these bodily judgments." Accepting the divine origin of their punishment, Winthrop appealed to the Salem Church to give godly consideration of "what was to be done to pacify the Lord's wrath", and Salem, which would do nothing without the advice of the Plymouth Church, consulted certain of its members then with them—requiring their voices as their own,—whereupon they all concluded that the course the Charlestown party should follow, was to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, and then that "such godly persons that are amongst them, and known to each other, may publicly at the end of their exercises make known their godly desire, and practise the same, viz. solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways. And since they are so disposed of in their outward estates as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them there to observe the day, and become three distinct bodies; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or the admitting of any other to their society than a few, to wit, such as are well known unto them, promising after to receive in such by confession of faith as shall appear to be fully qualified for that estate."¹⁶

Their advice was followed at Charlestown on 29th July, 1630, when four godly persons, known to each other, Winthrop, Johnson, Dudley and Wilson, entered into Church Covenant, and on 2nd

Vows and to Peter's Covenant. Doubtless the word appealed to him as a lawyer.

¹⁶ Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford. II. p. 113.

August five more were added; others were afterwards admitted on confession of faith.

At Watertown a second congregation was formed in a similar manner by Phillips and Saltonstall.¹⁷ The third was at Matan [Dorchester] where a month earlier Dr. Fuller had laboured to convince Warham of the error of his ways—for Henry Jacob in 1605 had declared that a true visible church was formed “by a free mutual consent of believers, joining and covenanting to live as members of a holy society together in all religious and virtuous duties as Christ and his Apostles did institute and practise in the Gospel”,¹⁸ yet the Dorchester minister stubbornly maintained that the visible church might consist of the mixed people, both godly and openly ungodly.¹⁹ Apparently in the interval pressure had been brought to bear and the Dorchester people followed the Plymouth instructions—as we have seen Roger Clap had wrestled with his difficulty for a period, perhaps not exceeding a month.²⁰

It would appear that at the moment Winthrop did not openly accept all the implications of this momentous change, for when on the following 29th August, his church chose their officers, he declares that they “used the imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England.”²¹ But it was not long before he assimilated

¹⁷ The former was “more acquainted with the way of church discipline since owned by congregational churches; but being then without any to stand by him, (for woe to him that is alone) he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who, by his preaching and practice, did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form which Mr. Phillips laboured to have introduced into the church before.”—Hubbard, *History of New England*, I. p. 186.

¹⁸ See Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, II. p. 157.

¹⁹ Bradford, *Letter Book*, p. 74.

²⁰ Hubbard says it was affirmed that Maverick, a minister, was ordained in a company while he lived in the West of England “which if it were so, there need no ordination, or gathering of a church anew at Dorchester, as they did in the other towns.” I. p. 187.

²¹ *History of New England*, I. p. 30.

all that was required by the Pilgrim Fathers,²² even adopting certain lines of argument they maintained in a controversy a few years later.

In 1633 when Gorges, Mason and others attacked the validity of the Charter, Winthrop stated that their charges were based to a great extent upon letters from "indiscreet persons among us who had written against the church government in England", and in the reply to the queries sent from the authorities in England there were three phrases used which caused Dudley to refuse to sign it—one of these was "that we profess to believe all the articles of the Christian faith according to the Scriptures and the common received tenets of the churches of England"—declaring this to be untrue, for he recognized that the charge made concerned the tenets of the *Church* of England, but Winthrop argued in vain that the phrase meant "the faithful in England (which we account the churches)", the intention being to confuse the issue; the same argument is fully accepted by Bradford in his *Dialogues*, where he says that certain parish assemblies in England were united by an "implicit covenant", which were consequently true churches, "in which regard the *Church* of England may be held and called a true church",²³ and Winthrop further elaborated the argument when defending the Boston Covenant against striking at the foundation of the churches in England "for many true churches in England . . . are joined by an implicit covenant", adding that the excluding covenant of Boston need not be scrupled, as in England many "leap over greater matters, as communicating with all parochial members, whereof many are no saints, either by calling or profession."²⁴

²² In December, 1631, he recognized the complete independence of the three congregations when he and some of the assistants were called in to settle a dispute at Watertown over church affairs. He said they were prepared to act either in their capacity as magistrates, or as representatives of a "neighbour- congregation."

²³ See Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 416. Winthrop's anonymous correspondent of 1636/7, strongly objected to the statement that "we are the true church implicit but not explicit." *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 448.

²⁴ Robert C. Winthrop, *Winthrop*, II. 417. In justice it should be mentioned that this confusing of the Church of England and churches in England was

But *facilis descensus* applies to more than one slippery slope, and there is no need to follow the course pursued, starting from a misapplication of White's Ten Vows and ending in "the New England Way", which received bitter condemnation from several in England who had been promised a refuge for Puritans and found it, they maintained, a Nursery of Schismatics. But one protest must be noticed—a letter written in 1636/7, endorsed by Winthrop as "spec. lett. ab ignot.", but its anonymity must have been but a thin veil to him,²⁵ while certain indications make us suspect that it was from John White's pen. He says that one of no mean rank and of approved holiness, had heard that the New Englanders "had renounced us to be a church" and "that you maintain the opinions of the Separation, *contrary to your declaration at your first going over,*" so that he scarce knew how to pray for them. Prejudice and bitterness have been aroused, Pulpits sound of you, Visitations and Assizes refer to the subject; a judge had divided recusants into Papists and Separatists, the latter preferring Amsterdam to London, New England to Old. Winthrop should prevent his people from calling those in England dogs and swine and questioning our ministry and our calling thereto; one even now here declares our Church is no true church and produces books to prove it. New Englanders should be less high and disdainful, not slighting us in comparison of you. Mr. Bernard, "a man thought upright in the main, yet of very great weaknesses", had received a letter from Mr. Cotton, declaring that in England we are the true church *implicit* but not explicit; for a reverend and wise divine on any provocation to write such things of us will do us harm and also disadvantage you in many ways. The famous tract "News from

not used as a mental reservation by certain of the "chiefest of the New England planters." When brought before the Privy Council they were ready to take the oath of allegiance and the oath of supremacy, but they scrupled to subscribe to the discipline of the Church of England, which they were going to New England to escape as they frankly admitted. After some consultation they were dismissed. Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 179.

²⁵ Reference is made to a neighbour, an outlawed patentee, who was riding post haste to London to make his peace with the Privy Council.

Ipswich" says about bishops what "the Ark Angell would not speak unto the Deuill"; it was irreverent to the King and its title page a lie. Such a book, and another, "On Prophaners of the Lord's Day", ought not to be penned by New Englanders. Let Winthrop hold a fast because the Plague was a punishment for England's sins, and let him have a sermon preached that could be circulated in England. The writer declares he is not pragmatically inclined to the other extreme, but he had of late been moved to write as above, "yet whither ever I shall come over unto you, I know not, for I desire to doe the worke of God, and to glorify Him heere or there, living or dying. . . . I can but inioye His presence in any part of the world. Onely this I say, that if God send me to you, for I wayte upon him, I shall not unwillingly goe, & whereas he hath pleased to open a door of liberty with you for many that have bin streightened here, my desire is to use all iust wayes to keep it open, both for your and our sakes, &, apprehending you to be our deare brethren, to prevent all inconveniences as . . . I plainly see approaching towards you." Orders for cutwork, lace, etc., which he hears are sent over, indicate love of luxuries and pride, and "if once pride, coveteousness, etc., or your being cast into a new frame of discipline take you up for the most part, diverting your minds, meditacions, & practices from all holy conversacion & godlinesse, there will soon growe a strangeness between you & God, who will surely bring affliction upon you . . . the Almighty God vouchsafe that both your doctrine and discipline worke mightily & effectually upon your hearts to meeken and sanctify them throughout."²⁶

²⁶ *Winthrop Papers*, I. pp. 443 *et seq.* The spelling and contractions are such as White commonly used, and a comparison of the phraseology with the signed letter mentioned below points to its being his composition. It is well known that he desired to emigrate. At an earlier date another anonymous letter was forwarded to Winthrop by Humfry, which may also have been from him; Humfry, writing on 18th December, 1630, refers to answers enclosed "from a reverend friend, whose name, because he desires it may be concealed at yet, I will not tell you, only you may know it is one whose person you much desire and whose judgment you and all men much esteem. I confess plainly in divers things I was persuaded otherwise. I see now some cause

A vigorous but more guarded remonstrance upon much the same lines, though less outspoken because his name is attached, White addressed to Winthrop in 1637. He writes:—"I conceive you doubt not of my unfeigned desire of your good w^{ch} makes me the better to lay open vnto you the thoughts of my soule. The rumours of your affairs, w^{ch} are diversely represented vnto vs, according to the different humours of the persons from whom they come, as they give me noe foundation to builde on, soe wth all they seeme to me to serve instead of Jonathans arrows, & to pointe to those things w^{ch} either men naturally are prone vnto, or at least w^{ch} other men desire to have soe, that wish ill vnto your estats, w^{ch} I know make you the more careful to cutt of occasion from those that seeke occasion. I presume not to give you advice, but desire you to remember that as liberty is sweet soe it is apte (as it is wth sweet meats) to allure men to excess, w^{ch} made the wise man give that caveat, Prov. 25, 16. Hast thou found hony? eate soe much as is sufficient etc. You are wise to vnderstand my meaning, w^{ch} is noe more than this, that if the providence & wisdom of some prevent it not, you may be as much endangered by your liberty as by your bondage. I cannot insiste in particulars, but desire you to have an eye to one thinge, that you fall not into that evil abroad w^{ch} you laboured to avoyd at home, to bind all men to the same tenets & practices in things, w^{ch} when they are well examined, will be found indifferent. I have not leisure to dispute, but desire you only to take notice that some of the maine things w^{ch} are insisted on wth you, as matters of absolute necessity, are esteemed, by all godly ministers, that eu^r I spake wthall amongst vs, small things, as if they be allowable yet at best are & will be found only things of conveniency. I have seene & pervsed such argum^{ts} as are produced to maintaine them, w^{ch} will not hold when they come to scanning. But above all things lett me request you to avoyd that rocke of separation w^{ch} if you once light on you will finde will shake

to stumble me in regard to his sound piety and judgement." *Ibid.*, p. 10. The last phrase seems to mean that by his sound piety and judgment Humfry had been convinced, so that he found his former opinion a stumbling block.

you in pieces. I would not give this intimation, but that I see already soe much that makes me exceedingly feare, in some whom I forbear to name, a strong inclination that way, w^{ch} if it hold on will appeare in time.”²⁷

From this letter it is evident that White considered that the emigrants had not lived up to the declaration made at their first going over nor to his warm declarations in their defence made in the *Planters Plea*, and also that the “New England Way” was likely to restrict that liberty he accounted so sweet. A “Visible Church” which used a Covenant to exclude the ungodly differed greatly from his conception of a true Church, which included the ungodly in the hope of their reformation, as did his own. Yet many would have contended that his Vows, voluntarily accepted, had made one of those covenanted assemblies of the faithful “whom we account the Churches.”

²⁷ *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 5th Series, Vol. I. p. 251.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THE INDIANS

Though there be little hope of the general Conversion of those natives in considerable part of that Continent [America] yet I suppose it may be a work pleasing to Almighty God and the blessed Saviour to affront the Devil with the sound of the Gospel and the Cross of Christ in those places where he thought to have reigned securely and out of the dinne thereof; and though we make no Christians there, yet to bring some thither to disturb and vex him, where he reigned without check.

THESE words were written by the Reverend Joseph Mede in 1634,¹ when already it was considered a forlorn hope to convert the Indians, yet it had been claimed as an important reason for the New England settlement that this gave an opportunity to spread the Gospel among the natives. This reason appealed particularly to John White and he worked for that end zealously though little success could be recorded in his lifetime.

The Company's letter of 1st February, 1628/9, reminded Endecott that the main end of the Plantation was to endeavour to bring the Indians to a better knowledge of the Gospel, enjoining him to treat them justly and courteously.² The Patent also expressed the Royal intention and the Adventurers' free profession that the colony "maie be soc religiously, peaceabile, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderlie conversacion maie wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde, and the Christian fayth."³

¹ *Works and Letters*, [1664]. II. 80.

² *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 383.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Similar declarations abound in the letters of the early members of the Company.

White, in his *Planters Plea*, writes earnestly on the subject: he states the objection that New England, "so naked of inhabitants", is the unfittest place for a colony if the propagation of religion is the scope of the plantation and answers it by stating three considerations:—the natives here are on good terms with the settlers; it will be more advantageous to begin among a small population as there would be less resistance and those receiving it will spread it elsewhere; and by traffic and commerce with the natives they will become acquainted with them and take opportunity to advance the matter.⁴ Again it was objected that "the pretended end of winning the Heathen to the knowledge of God and embracing of the faith of Christ is a meere fantasie, and a worke not onely of uncertaine but unlikely successe", the fruitless endeavours of Virginia and of New Plymouth in ten years had not produced a single convert.⁵ White replies that it would be a miracle had they succeeded because of the difficulty of the language—as yet they had but words relating to commerce and they knew not how to express spiritual things, though they could demonstrate certain points, like keeping the Sabbath and reverencing God, so it was necessary to acquire the language, its moods and tenses, and "Besides, it hath been intimated that wee hardly have found a brutish people wonne before they have been taught civility [been civilized]."⁶ Some even suggested that the Indians were "Chams Posterity" and therefore shut out from Grace, but he rebukes them—they should not curse where God had not cursed nor shut out from the means of grace those whom God had not excluded.⁷

As set forth in the Charter and in Cradock's letter, White as-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29. Robinson wrote to Plymouth, 19th December, 1623:—Concerning the killing of those poor Indeans . . . oh, how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any. Bradford, *History*, ed. Ford, I. 367.

⁶ *Planters Plea*, p. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

serts that the first step towards conversion of the natives is to set them a good example by letting them see the holy lives of the ministers sent out and the amicable dispositions of the brethren in the colony, leading to emulation and then to a desire to become Christians. Added to that, teaching them providence and industry, so with commerce and example of good living in time civility will be bred among them and by God's blessing way may be made for religion and the saving of their souls.⁸ As the scope at which the Colony aims must be religion it is necessary to allot to every colony for governors and ministers "men of piety and blameless life" especially in New England where they must be a pattern to the Heathen and a special and effectual means of winning them to the love of truth.⁹

This matter of pious men setting a good example is urged by almost every writer on colonization in this district, but, alas, for the frailty of human nature, dissension in the early days, especially regarding the outward forms of worship, with the brutal persecution of those who failed to conform to the particular fashion required by the authorities, failed to afford the excellent example so frequently and forcibly urged.

At home those interested in converting the heathen took practical steps by collecting funds for this purpose. In 1635 a paper found in Dr. John Stoughton's study was headed "a Forme of Project for settling the profession of the Gospel of Christ in New England." Its chief aim was the establishment of a college in the colony "where some may be maintained for learning the language and instructing the heathen and our own people and breeding up as many of the Indians and children as providence shall bring into our hands and the abilities of the Plantation assisted by the pious charity of godly men will relieve. As also by furnishing them with a competent library and means to maintain it and them, with all things necessary for their sustenance and defence against such attempts of the Indians as the Devil is not unlike to stir up for the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

disturbance of a work intended for the overthrow of his kingdom in them and making the lord Christ glorious in his gospel among them.”¹⁰

In 1641 William Castell of Courtenhall in Northamptonshire presented to Parliament a petition “For the Propagation of the Gospel in America,” the object of the subscribers being the instruction of the natives—true, these are styled “those silly seduced Americans” to whom the Gospel ought to be preached. It refers to the ineffectual attempts already made by some of the reformed religion, English, Scotch, French and Dutch, who have taken up their habitation there, and points out that in the “skirts of America, where there are but few natives (as those of New England) or else for want of able and conscionable Ministers (as in Virginia) they themselves are becoming exceedingly rude, more likely to turn heathen than to turn others to the Christian faith.” It was signed by seventy eminent divines in this order:—Doctors of Divinity, London Ministers and Ministers of several counties. The last class was headed by “John White of Dorsetshire.”¹¹ A couple of years later, apparently as the result of this petition, letters patent were granted for the establishment of a society for this purpose.

Edward Randolph, who in 1684 sought to reform the “Society for Evangelizing the Indians,” wrote “A General account granted to the Governor and Company Erected in England for Evangelizing the Indians in New England,” which from his remarks appears to have been established some ten years after the paper was found in Stoughton’s study and about two years after the presentation of the petition. This “Account” states that about 1643 letters patent were granted to Lord Warwick and “other factious lords” as well as “to Peters, Goodwin, Oliver Cromwell, Cornelius Holland

¹⁰ *State Papers, Colonial*, VIII. No. 41. This is endorsed “This letter containeth an undue way of gathering monies without authority for the Plantation in New England.” For Stoughton’s arrest and White’s association with him see below, p. 298.

¹¹ *The Discoverie of America*, p. 6, [British Museum Tract C 32 e 12].

and other seditious commoners," eighteen in all, with power to collect money all over England and to dispose of it. Great sums were collected and employed by commissioners in New England nominated, placed and displaced by that Company. They paid in money and goods above 500^{li} to translate into the Indian language some of Baxter's pamphlets which were handed to "Rigid Independent ministers under the name of Indian Ministry;" they had salaries and distributed the books to the Indians "but the whole design tends more to the encouragement of ill administering than beneficiall to the poor Indians." Randolph elsewhere states that the moneys already obtained brought in before the Great Fire "nigh 1000^{li} per annum," but since only five or six hundred pounds and though called the "stock for Evangelizing Indians" it was bestowed, he declared, as pensions upon those in the Magistracy or in the Ministry while they pretended it was used to convert the infidel. He urged that it would be better used to support Episcopal ministers to administer the Sacraments in the Massachusetts Bay.¹²

It is possible that the fund here referred to is that Common Stock established at the time of the winding up of the Massachusetts Bay Company to which those of good affection to the plantation were asked to subscribe for the purpose of "defraying public charges, such as the maintenance of ministers, transportation of poor families, building of churches, etc.,"¹³ as we find Thomas Weld, when accounting for the expenditure of money passing through his hands, states that it had been contributed "towards a Common Stocke, the poore Children, the Colledge, th'advance of Learning, the Library, the poore of New-England and the Conversion of the Indians" and was rendered as "from the tyme of our first landing there until the present 10th of the 2nd m^o 1647."¹⁴ In this he deals particularly with the money received for the Indians—he sets out the details of 92^{li} 10^s 0^d received from Lady Armine, Cradock and an anonymous donor, probably Andrewes, for the

¹² *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, XXXVII. pp. 156, 157.

¹³ See above.

¹⁴ *Op. cit. supra*, XXXIX. p. 179.

evangelization of the Indians and its payment to John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians.¹⁵ Furthermore, we find that the subscribers to this Common Stock in England, especially those ministers meeting at Sion House, were unsatisfied regarding the expenditure of their subscriptions for transporting children to New England and were disinclined to contribute to a general collection authorized in 1649 by Act of Parliament for the propagating of the Gospel to the Natives of New England.¹⁶ It was "to silence the malicious, to satisfy the Sober, and to remove the obstructions of the contributions for propagating the Gospell to the Natives in New England" that Weld wrote his pamphlets which did not produce such a favourable impression as he hoped, for the auditor for the Society, Nathaniel Duncan, wrote:—"So it appeareth that the Country in Generall hath little benefit by all those moneys and lesse considering how great trouble the Court hath had about it."¹⁷ He might well have added that as far as the evangelization of the Indians was concerned the benefit was hardly in proportion to the expense and trouble incurred.

Eliot's efforts, by preaching in their language and in translating the Bible, a catechism and tracts, as well as by seeing to their bodily welfare, proved the most practical attempt to meet requirements of both the recipients and the givers. But the books he printed were in a local dialect so were not of enduring value from his point of view.

One of the objects of the College in New England, afterwards known as Harvard College, was the education of Indian youth but from a modern point of view the attention paid to Greek and Latin in the studies appointed for them seems inappropriate. Several, after a period of study, reverted to their original wild habits and haunts, others proved thoroughly untrustworthy and wicked—one even betrayed his father in King Philip's War—while others fell into evil ways, but for the most part they died of consumption so

¹⁵ *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, XXXVI. p. 64.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIX. p. 182.

that but one "Caleb Cheesehabiteammuck" is entered in the catalogue as a graduate.

The several societies continued to function for a time but as some combined a variety of objects in their charters the funds were diverted to other beneficent purposes. Those in England who had been so zealous for the welfare of the natives were forced to face disappointment and John White, who had been one of the first among these, lived long enough to be discouraged by the apparent failure to christianize the Indians.

CHAPTER XVIII

AFFAIRS AT HOME

"Predestination is the root of Puritanism, and Puritanism is the root of all rebellious and disobedient intractableness in Parliament."

DR. SAMUEL BROOKE.

ALTHOUGH White's mind was greatly occupied in furthering the establishment of a refuge for persecuted Puritans, he was not unmindful of his duties nearer home.

In those days Weymouth was a port of importance and Dorchester, lying upon the great highway between it and London, was well informed upon the doings of the outside world; it also had a few excitements of its own within the Borough.

After the ill-fated expedition to St. Martin's it had been afflicted by the presence of some of the surviving participants therein; "the old discharged and unpaid soldiers and sailors, half perishing with disease and famine, made cities and highways alike unsafe . . . desperate and lawless outcasts, billeted with private families, committed unspeakable outrages";¹ and Dorchester was no exception. Early in 1628 a body of soldiers, quartered for some time in the town, were ordered to embark at Plymouth for Rochelle, to the great relief of the citizens, but, owing perhaps to their arrival too late at the port, they were left behind and were brought back to their former quarters. It was more than the citizens could bear to have these unpleasant lodgers, whose previous bills had been long unpaid, so soon thrust upon them, so they slammed their doors in the faces of the soldiers and their officers;² in this action they were encouraged by one of their members of Parliament, Richard Bush-

¹ Forster, *Life of John Eliot*, II. p. 96.

² *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 144, No. 83.

rod, one of the prime-movers in the Dorchester Company. For this misdemeanour he was brought before a Commission, appointed to investigate the ill-conduct of the Dorcestrians, and accused of being "an agent in dehorting men from billeting", but in the end, says Whiteway, "it came to nothing."³

Matters of grave political moment affected Dorchester and its neighbours in a personal way. In 1626 two Dorset men, Sir John Strangwayes and Sir Walter Erle, had been put out of the Commission of the Peace for "being so busy last Parliament," i. e. in the impeachment of Buckingham.⁴ In the great crisis connected with illegal taxation and forced loans, Dorchester was touched even more nearly. Whiteway, in a position to obtain first-hand information, gives a vivid picture of events under 20th January 1628/9. "This day Parliament met again at Westminster, when the king's first proposition was for the settling of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. But the house resolved to settle religion and to provide for the suppressing of Popery and Arminianism, before they would conclude any other business. They discovered also a formal College of Jesuits in London, but could not have the law executed against them for all of them had procured pardons. Then the Parliament obtained of the king a general fast kept at London 18th February, and over all England the 20th March, and so we went on till 23 February when the Lower House adjourned themselves for two days. The King being offended at that, adjourned them for seven days and then they met for ten days more, when there was much ado about the adjournment in the Lower House. Mr. Holles and Mr. Valentine kept the speaker in the chair by force and Sir John Elliot voted the three articles of liberty in the House. Thereupon on the 10th March the King in great anger dissolved the Parliament, and sent five of the lower House to the Tower, one to the

³ *Diary*, fol. 136. Captain Stevens, during the difficulties in obtaining billets, had made himself personally responsible for the payment for thirty-one soldiers, but at the end of the year only one-third of the sum due had been paid. Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 675.

⁴ Whiteway, *Ibid.*, f. 116.

Fleet and another to the Gatehouse, and fourteen days after published a declaration of the causes that moved him to dissolve the Parliament."⁵

Denzil Hollis, the member mentioned above, represented the Borough of Dorchester.

The course of subsequent events will be found in any good history of the period, but it should be mentioned that three of the prime-movers, Hollis, Strode and Eliot, were closely associated with White. Hollis, member for his constituency, was described by a detractor as the Patriarch's "own disciple"; Strode heads the list of members of that "New England Planters Parliament" which founded the Dorchester Company, and Eliot when preparing his "Project for New England", possessed copies of White's writings and appears to have been personally acquainted with him.

While these and others were imprisoned, White himself endeavoured to enter into communication with them. The Governor of the Tower, Apsley, reported that "On 7th of May one John White, Minister, preacher of Dorchester, and Ferdinando Nickolls of Sherborn came under the window of Mr. Hollis and would have spoken unto him, but were prevented by his keeper and put out of the Towers."⁶ The next day Sir Oliver Luke and Sir John Littleton also attempted to see him, but were unable to get near his window because a strip of garden intervened, but they were able to see him as he came to the window and "shewed them his topp and skurdg stick, his waightes of swinging with, and theye made antick signes and devoted salutacions at their parting."⁷ Hollis obviously had the entire sympathy and approval of his constituents in his action in this matter as on 29th December following, "the town bestowed upon Mr. Hollis a standing cup of plate, which cost xx marks, for his services done last Parliament."⁸

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 144.

⁶ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 142, No. 52. Ferdinando Nicholls had been White's assistant at Dorchester but removed to Sherborne in 1627 and to St. Mary Arches, Exeter, in 1634. He was an ardent Puritan.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Whiteway, *Diary*, fol. 152.

About this time White himself was suffering from some unpleasant attentions of the authorities. From the Churchwardens' Accounts of Holy Trinity we learn that in 1629, there was "much business this year in the spiritual courts" costing them in "expenses, to Bristol, 9s., expenses for waiting on the Bishop, 1s.,"⁹ and White-way also informs us that on 1st June, 1630, "there was a private fast kept by certain persons, for the turning away the danger threatened narrowly the removing of Mr. White."¹⁰

It has been suggested that the expenses to Bristol were incurred because the Rector had been summoned to the spiritual courts for preaching on Predestination and, having cleared himself, the danger of suspension was averted. Such preaching had, about this time, been forbidden through Laud's instrumentality, and the Arminian Controversy was occupying all minds. Dr. Cornelius Burgess had said in a sermon that "if your ministers preach Popery or Arminianism you may change your dwelling and not trouble the peace of the Church," for which he was much molested, while Mr. White, with sundry others, was suspended "for lightly touching upon some points relating to Arminianism, though agreeable to the Scriptures, and 17th Article of our Church."¹¹ But on this point there is some doubt, especially as there was more than one Puritan clergyman named John White. Still, the Patriarch's orthodoxy was called in question, as his anonymous detractor mentions that his sermon on "Observation of the Lord's Day" and another vin-

⁹ Hutchins, *Dorset*, II, p. 402.

¹⁰ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 156.

¹¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*. "About the year 1630, Mr. White [of Dorchester] was brought into trouble by Bishop Laud and prosecuted in the High Commission Court for preaching against Arminianism and the Popish ceremonies."—Brook, *Puritans*, III. 88. A foot-note to this refers to Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 362, but this deals with the occasion when White was implicated with Stoughton over the "Children's Portion," [see below, p. 297]. Even this passage by Prynne has been misinterpreted to mean that White was one of those who fled to Holland and New England, which he never did. Nor can Brook's statement apply to the Sermon preached before the Judges in 1633. Possibly, confusion has arisen because John White of Feering, Essex, was prosecuted by the High Commission.

dicating the Liturgy from the usual cavils of Secretaries, were presented by Master White himself as a testimony of his Conformity to Bishop Cook, then Bishop of Bristol.¹²

Although he appears to have escaped suspension by his bishop, White was by no means free from trouble, for a number of Dorcestrians resented the strictness of his rule and his efforts, by means of his Ten Vows, to improve the moral tone of the place. In those days the enforcement of attendance at Church and other spiritual virtues came within the purview of the civil power, hence we learn from the Municipal documents of many backslidings, giving us interesting sidelights upon local events; both White and Benn appear to have incurred unpopularity.

Arising out of the use of the Ten Vows was the case, in 1636, of Robert Pouncey who, on being told that he "was to go to Mr. White the minister to be examined before he came to the Sacrament," used violent speeches in his refusal to do so. There was one Pressley who was informed against for disputing the magistrates' authority to compel him to go to the Sacrament at Easter, saying he would but remain during Divine Service; that John Downton of Fordington could preach as well as Mr. Benn and, when prosecuted in the Court at Blandford, contumaciously denied their authority to force him to tarry the service and sermon, and boldly bade the magistrate "look upon the Canons to see what he ought to do," while another was condemned to two hours in the stocks for leaving church before prayers were ended. An apprentice ventured to play during service time, and his master was ordered to correct him while a constable stood by to see it well done. Fines for absence from church varied from one shilling on ordinary Sundays to six shillings on Christmas Day; they were also inflicted for late coming, for slack coming, for sleeping during service, for disorderly conduct during prayers and sermon and upon "ordinary departers" before prayers were ended. Such excuses as going to Charminster to fetch work, to see a sick mother, or attending service elsewhere, were received with incredulity, often being judged insufficient. Boys

¹² See below, p. 291.

were unruly, boxed each others' ears, pinched their companions' legs, played games in the churchyard, talked in the street during prayer time, all of which offences were sternly dealt with by the magistrates.

Personal attacks were made upon both ministers. Philip Nychols "offered speech concerning Mr. John White's preaching," saying "White, (for so he called him), had made Christ an innocent [i.e. a half-wit] and simple man in his sermon," so he "thought Christ was never so handled in a sermon before," which grieved him, and because Robert Adyn did not agree with him he "railed at him, calling him Old Papist and doons [dunce], with other reproachful speeches, complaining that Mr. White preached not sound doctrine in that point." When a listener said that he overheard this controversy Nychols exclaimed, "Sirha, I would thou hadst been at church yesterday, thou shouldest have heard Christ made a very innocent!" and added that "God Almighty was never so handled before." He was asked if Mr. White had called Christ a fool or beggar-boy and replied, "No, but as bad," and that he had found that "Kelleson had refuted that doctrine."¹³ In prison Nychols was asked if Mr. Adyn had tried to convert him; he said he had fallen out with that "Old Seminary" Adyn, but repeated the strange doctrine that Christ had been made a simple innocent. Needless to say this obstinate railer "stood committed" for his abuse of "Mr. White, traducing his doctrine." Another man declared that he cared nothing for Mr. White as he could answer twenty such cockscombs as he.

The Rector of All Saints' was also criticized; Martin, a seevier, brake into speech of ministers and lawyers who had gotten into their hands all the riches of the land, and had grown so proud they would not speak to a poor man; Mr. Benn had gotten so rich on voluntary contributions that he passed Martin without noticing him; even if the minister really did not see him, he declared he would not put off his hat to Mr. Benn, he cared nothing for him and would tell him so. He objected to passages in his sermons, said his prayers were too long, he did not speak loud enough when giving names at

¹³ Kellison's *Survey of Religion* in the Dorchester Library, [Mayo, p. 595].

christenings, and did not read "the Common Prayer, the Commandments and Epistles and Ghosples, etc.,"—a credible accusation this latter as Benn later became a vehement Independent. Martin concluded his charges by saying that Benn did not salute his neighbours with his hat, but looked over them with a great pair of eyes; he, Martin, cared not a "Savy your reverence," and "you may tell him so."

Another parishioner declared that he would not go to church unless he were "haled thither with wild horses, and that he cared not a —— for Mr. Benn."¹⁴

These delinquents, not many in number, must have been the exceptions that proved the rule that, for the most part, the people had conformed largely to White's requirements, and held him in such esteem that they quickly reported their brethren's backslidings, having undertaken "to admonish them" when they accepted the Ten Vows. In his practice of brotherly admonition undoubtedly there were grave dangers, which at some time White recognized, giving his parishioners a wise warning: "It is very needful to observe a fit season in dealing with offenders when they have sinned. . . . Sins are to be reformed by brotherly correction, though we are directed to rebuke our brother plainly, it will be needful sometimes to give some respite ere we deal with him, waiting till the passion be over and the mind transported . . . to itself again . . . [or] . . . till . . . some opportunity which may much palliate the work we go about."¹⁵

¹⁴ The above quotations will be found in Mayo, *Municipal Records*, pp. 594, 595, 616, 617, and in notes supplied to me by the late H. J. Moule. It may be mentioned that Benn had three daughters, married respectively to Hugh Thomson, Nathaniel Mather, and Theophilus Polwhele. No mention of a son has been found.

¹⁵ *Three First Chapters of Genesis*, &c., Bk. III. p. 118. Probably this was a sentence used also in a sermon.

CHAPTER XIX

PURITAN PROPAGANDA

Laud . . . while he had the Reins in his Hands, drove so near the Precipice of Popery and Tyranny, that the Hearts of the most resolved Protestants turned against him, and almost all England became Puritan.

NEAL.

WHILE the tide of religious affairs in New England was turning in the manner described in the previous chapter, Puritanism in Old England had entered upon a critical phase.

Schism, as Laud understood it, was rampant and required stern suppression. Under Elizabeth a lowering of the standard of education of the clergy had been necessary owing to the ranks having been depleted during the violent religious changes under the Tudors; James considered that those he found occupying livings required to be purged of unorthodox teachings—clergymen who had long taught from their pulpits were obliged to obtain fresh licences from their diocesan, while students suspected of having read the works of “ungrounded divines” and broached unprofitable, unsound and dangerous doctrines were not to be allowed to preach. “Some counted it a cruel act, which cut off half the preaching in England (all afternoon sermons) at one blow.”¹ It certainly deprived many who held Puritan opinions of their means of livelihood. To mitigate their sufferings a scheme already in existence was enlarged in order “to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the several market-towns of England; and to support the expense a

¹ Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 321.

sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for the purchasing such Impropropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were parcelled out into salaries of forty or fifty pounds per annum, for the subsistence of their lecturers;"² men of "noted zeal . . . deceived by the outside of this project, stirre up the rich and well affected to contribute liberally to this so religious an act of redeeming the Lords portion out of Lay hands, and amongst the last counsellis given to the dying. . . this was never forgotten; by this means great summes were advanced, and the World stood at gaze to see the great return which would be made to the Church of that which sacrilege had made a lay fee."³ This plan had been started in 1612 and about a dozen years later the affairs of this association were chiefly managed by Richard Stock, rector of Allhallows, Bread Street, London, since 1617.⁴ New life appears to have been infused into the movement by King James's restrictions and at a meeting held on 16th February, 1625/6, a scheme for the management of the fund was drawn up and twelve feoffees appointed. Fuller says of these that there were "four divines to persuade mens consciences, four lawyers to draw all conveyances, and four citizens who commanded rich coffers."⁵ Later a thirteenth was added to allow of a casting vote. It was required that at least eight of the feoffees should reside in London. Richard Stock died a few months after this meeting and Dr. William Gouge was elected in his place. The feoffees then were:—Dr. William Gouge, Dr. Richard Sibbes, Dr. Charles Offspring and Mr. John Davenport, Ministers; Robert

² Neal, *Puritans*, II. p. 231. Richard Day, son of a former Bishop of Winchester, presented a petition on 27th January, 1629/30, for "the recovery of Impropropriations to the use of the parochial ministers with augmentation of the revenues of the crown;" they were to be recovered by due course of law and were to be expended in part on the Universities, and upon afforestation and kindred purposes. [*State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 159, No. 23.]

³ *Mercurius Civicus*, p. 5. Lay impropropriations were the incomes from churches which had fallen into the possession of laymen who paid a small portion to a curate.

⁴ Fuller says that for thirty-two years he did advance God's glory more than both the saints, St. Simon Stockes and St. Simon Stylites.

⁵ Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 362.

Eyre and Samuel Browne of Lincoln's Inn, Christopher Sherland and John White of Gray's Inn, Lawyers; John Geering, grocer, Richard Davis, vintner, George Harwood, haberdasher, and Francis Bridges, salter, Citizens of London. All these were highly esteemed by the Puritans and almost every one was closely connected with the Massachusetts Bay Company or other schemes for settling America.

Dr. Gouge was incumbent of St. Anne's, Blackfriars; Thomas Weston was his parishioner and Roger Conant was married in his church. He was nephew of Ezekiel Culverwell who converted John Winthrop.⁶

Dr. Sibbes was Preacher of Gray's Inn and afterwards Master, and benefactor, of St. Katherine's College, Cambridge. His connexion with the emigration movement has not been traced.⁷

Dr. Offspring, Rector of St. Antholin's, was a brother-in-law of Samuel Aldersey and cousin of Francis Bridges. His church was the fashionable one for Puritan marriages; many emigrants are mentioned in the registers.

John Davenport, then Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, was the famous Puritan minister who, after selecting with John White's assistance the ministers to be sent out by the Bay Company, himself emigrated to New England.

Robert Eyre was a parishioner of Davenport and his son married Samuel Aldersey's daughter Anne in St. Antholin's Church.⁸

Samuel Browne was M. P. for Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness, and

⁶ He read fifteen chapters in the Bible daily and on his death in 1653 at the age of 79, left "the example of his humility, faith, patience, etc. to the imitation of posterity." [Fuller, *Church History*, III. 362, and *Worthies*, II. 43.] He succeeded White's successor as Assessor of the Assembly of Divines.

⁷ At Gray's Inn his sermons were frequented by the nobility and gentry, yet his great humility was a matter of comment [Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 343]. He was "a divine of good learning, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, a burning and a shining light, of a most humble and charitable disposition." [Neal, *Puritans*, II. p. 280]. He died in 1635.

⁸ He was son of Sir William Eyre of Chalfield, Wilts, and probably closely related to William, son of Giles Eyre, of Whiteparish, Wilts, a rigid Calvinist who held the notion of "eternal justification," eventually being accounted a scandalous minister.

frequently took part in debates on religious questions. He was connected with Lords Warwick, Say and Brooke in the Providence Island colony.⁹

Christopher Sherland was M. P. for Northampton and was a cousin of John Hampden, the Patriot; he also was interested in Providence Island. He left money to the feoffees for the purchase of Impropropriations for the furtherance of preaching.¹⁰

John White, the Lawyer, was the famous "Century" White so closely connected with the Dorchester Company and the Bay Company.

John Geering, a freeman of the East India Company, was a member of the Dorchester Company and of the Somers Island Company; he married Rebecca Oldfield, sister of Joseph Oldfield, an early subscriber to the Bay Company, and also of the first wife of Josse Glover, a subscriber and emigrant.¹¹

Richard Davis was a subscriber to the New England Company.

George Harwood was treasurer of the New England and of the Massachusetts Bay Companies.¹²

Francis Bridges of Clapham, cousin of Charles Offspring, in 1642 left 50^{li} "towards the enlargement of a college in New England" and 20^{li} to the poor in that country, to be distributed by four New England ministers, including Thomas Hooker and Hugh Peter.¹³

The thirteenth feoffee was at first Rowland Heylin, a citizen and ironmonger, at one time Sheriff of London;¹⁴ on his death in 1631 Nicholas Rainton was elected in his place; he was a citizen and haberdasher, was once Sheriff and then Lord Mayor of London, and treasurer, President and benefactor, of St. Bartholomew's Hos-

⁹ He must not be confused with Samuel Browne who desired the use of the Prayer Book at Salem.

¹⁰ Newton, *Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*, p. 59. Will, P. C. C. 10 Audley.

¹¹ He was son of Simon Geering of Lechlade, Gloucester, a famous Puritan.

¹² He was brother of Sir Edward Harwood, the famous soldier.

¹³ *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, XLIII. p. 162.

¹⁴ When made Sheriff, the Ironmongers' Company loaned him plate and gave him 22^{li} "to trim his house."

pital. He married Rebecca Moulson, a relative of Samuel Aldersey and mother-in-law of Anne Ratcliffe.

On the death of Christopher Sherland in 1631 Sir Thomas Crewe, Serjeant at Law, was appointed in his place; he was of Gray's Inn, M. P. for Lichfield and for Galton, and an ardent Puritan. His evidence is given prominence in the proceedings described below.

It is, therefore, evident that the Feoffees as a whole^{14a} were closely associated with the settlements in the New World. The omission of John White's name from the list was probably due to the requirement that a large majority of the Feoffees must reside in London but his interest in the movement will become apparent.

The association prospered so greatly that in six years their funds amounted to 7557^{li}, which was employed to purchase Improvements etc., costing 8073^{li}, the balance, 516^{li}, being made up by the Feoffees out of their private purses.¹⁵ They acquired about twenty-five properties—Advowsons, Prebends, Llectionaries, School-masterships, etc.—and were in treaty for more.

"Most people thought this a commendable design," writes Neal,¹⁶ "and wished the Feoffees good success; but Bishop Laud looked upon them with an evil eye," complaining that the "factious and seditious lecturers maintained by such means in the market-towns did a great deal of mischief to the hierarchy of the church." In fact the scheme proved a veritable thorn in the side of Episcopacy; with such funds at their command the Feoffees could multiply their

^{14a} Besides the Feoffees mentioned there were others whose names occur as members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, e.g. 700^{li} placed in the Feoffees' hands by a gentlewoman, who was to receive 50^{li} a year, was given to "Mr. Aldersey the merchant" who was to employ the money "to raise the profit and to give to them the rest of the profit," and in 1628 these women attending meetings are named:—Mrs. Allen, Katherine Mannyng, Elizabeth Brown, Susan Dunster, and Anne Burrell.

¹⁵ A monthly contribution was made by individual Feoffees and in order to embrace an opportunity to purchase, they sometimes advanced the money without accepting interest.

¹⁶ *Puritans*, II. p. 231.

dependents and thus encourage non-conformity, so strenuous endeavours were made to check their activities.

Dr. Peter Heylin, great nephew of Rowland Heylin, proudly confessed that he was responsible for bringing the design before the authorities,¹⁷ making a close investigation of their doings and reporting the same to Bishop Laud; whereupon an information was laid in the Court of Exchequer by the King's Attorney-General Noy, based upon his statements.

Heylin declared that the Feoffees placed lecturers in the market-towns "where the people commonly had less to do and consequently were more apt to faction and innovation than elsewhere;" the income from the Improvements, he asserted, was not to be given to the vicar of the church to which it belonged but "where they thought the word was most needed, that is to say, most needed for their project." In market-towns, too, the lecturers, for the most part non-conformists, silenced because of their factious carriage, could influence the election of burgesses to Parliament. If the lecturers proved slack in the "holy cause," their original fire and fury becoming abated, the Feoffees might remove them; in fact, the Feoffees he accused of having more chaplains in their pay than all the bishops in the kingdom,^{17a} and these greedy dependents were forced to preach the doctrine that best pleased their masters' humours. Some of their income was even applied to the support of the wives and children of suspended ministers, and every artifice was employed to increase their emissaries.¹⁸

At Laud's instigation the Feoffees were prosecuted in the Court of Exchequer.¹⁹ As the good intentions of the Feoffees could not

¹⁷ *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 210.

^{17a} Out of 8,000 churches in England, 3,000 are said to have been Improvements.

¹⁸ *Examen Historicum*, p. 241.

¹⁹ Prynne dwells upon Laud's extreme bitterness against the Feoffes, pointing out that he was early resolved to suppress them, and thanked God fervently when he had destroyed their works. Century White, at an interview, offered, on behalf of the whole body, to remodel it so as to conform to his requirements—even replacing members of whom the Bishop disapproved, but Laud would

be brought in question, they were charged as acting as a body corporate without obtaining letters patent to authorize them, but they had expressly arranged that their purchases for charitable purposes should be held in the names of two individual Feoffees, who became "Feoffees to uses," requiring no such official sanction. They retained the best legal advocates²⁰ to maintain their cause, but it was a foregone conclusion; their case came up on 31st January, 1632/3, and after three sittings judgment was given against them on 13th February.

Davenport, one of the Feoffees involved, recorded in his "Great Bible", under date of 11th February, the anxiety that they endured. "The business of the Feoffees being to be heard the third time in the Exchequer, I prayed earnestly, That God would assist our Counsellors, in opening the Case, and be pleased to grant that they might get no advantage against us, to punish us as Evil Doers; promising to observe what Answer he gave. Which seeing that he hath graciously done and delivered me from the thing I feared I record to these ends," and he adds the vows that he then made:—to be more industrious in his family and to exercise a more thankful spirit. He concludes by praying that he may be faithful to his covenant with God.²¹

Whiteway thus refers to the matter:—"certaine Gentlemen that were made feoffees for the purchasing of impropriations and settling of painfull Ministers where they were most needful, were sentenced in the Exchequer & the Parsonages they had purchased

not hear of this, indicating "by putting his fingers to his girdle and shaking it," how efforts were being made "to bring the bishop under the Feoffees' girdle for impropriations," and, with passion, "expressly declared his resolution to break the neck of this good work, that it should not proceed." [*Canterbury's Doom*, pp. 385-388.] At his trial Laud said that he sought to suppress the lecturers for their contentiousness, which alienated the people from the Church and by divers schisms disturbed its peace, but he reminded his accusers that not he, but the Judges were responsible for the decision against them.

²⁰ Lenthal, Weston, and Harborne, great legal luminaries, were employed.

²¹ See Mather, *Magnalia Christi*, Bk. III. p. 52.

adjudged to be the King's gift."²² Although their feoffment was cancelled and the appointments to the livings were transferred to the King the patronage nominally remained in their hands, as we find that at All Saints', Worcester, held in the names of Sibbes and Davenport, they were required to present a nominee of the King—or rather of the Bishop.²³ The Feoffees were forbidden to purchase any more Impropriations and it was considered whether any action lay against them in the Star Chamber,²⁴ but apparently the matter was allowed to drop.²⁵

A most important part of their work requires notice, that undertaken by men designated in the Information "Collectors of St. Antholin's, or Treasurers, or Feoffees," titles they repudiated, though they were undoubtedly connected with the church mentioned.

St. Antholin's, standing in Budge Row at the corner of St. Sythe's Lane, was a noted Puritan resort; in Elizabeth's reign²⁶ there were established in it "six morning weekly lectures in divinity to the great honour of Almighty God and benefitt and comfort of his people in the said City."²⁷ The bells for these lectures began to ring at five o'clock in the morning, which was considered Pharisaical by the High Churchmen of the neighbourhood. Those of the extreme Geneva party attended the early prayers and the church was never empty.²⁸ Early in the seventeenth century 70^{li} from

²² *Diary*, fol. 180.

²³ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 245, No. 27.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 259, No. 2.

²⁵ As a *cause célèbre* it appears in letters and diaries. "Certain feoffees' money, bequeathed and given for redeeming of impropriations, to the sum of 7000^{li} or 8000^{li}, have been questioned for it, and those redeemed livings, wherein they had placed ministers of their choice, resumed and put in the King's hands." Birch, *Court & Times of Charles I.*, II. p. 166.

²⁶ Thornbury & Walford, *Old & New London*, I. p. 553, date their institution 1599, but Machyn, under September, 1559, refers to the lectures "after the Geneva fashion." The Scots Commissioners in 1645 were lodged in a house connected with a gallery in the church.

²⁷ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I., 139, No. 86.

²⁸ Thornbury, *ut supra*.

the parish and 40^{li} from the Chamber of London were paid annually for the support of the lectures,²⁹ which certain Puritans considered a work "very pious and of good consequence," for which they raised a fund.³⁰ When later it was suggested that this was a "lighting of candles to the sun," London not requiring such attention, the Feoffees replied that it should share in the benefits as it was the chief staple of charity where their subscribers resided.³¹

In 1628 a fund amounting to 1500^{li}, to which many associated with the Massachusetts Bay Company subscribed, was handed to the Feoffees to purchase the lectureships at St. Antholin's—a responsibility they reluctantly accepted. It was intended to appoint to these chosen lecturers for six years: if they proved orthodox they were then to be given country livings. In this way their opinions would be disseminated. *Mercurius Civicus* described St. Antholin's, therefore, as a seminary for Puritans, whence they transplanted "their most hopeful imps to impropriate parsonages or lectureships," and he declared that such as had "letters testimonial from Patriarch White of Dorchester, Mr. Cotton of Boston, or such like, (for Calamy and Marshall were not, as it is said of Dathan and Abiram, as yet famous in the congregation)," was counted as "a choice plant fit for their Soyle."³²

From this it is evident that White took an active part in this particular scheme and there can be little doubt that ever since he subscribed to the original fund in 1621 he had been engaged in assisting the Feoffees. In so doing he came into personal contact with the London Puritans which gave him the opportunity to induce many of them to further his plan for the establishment of a plantation in New England to serve as a refuge for those holding their own views on religion.

Opinion on the condemnation of the Feoffees was divided; some

²⁹ *State Papers, ut supra.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Fuller, *Church History*, III. 371.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Elsewhere he says this was a pratique Seminary, where they might take an essay of their affections and ability."

styled their "emisarries" "the Lecturing house-creeping ministers who invaded men's livings;"³³ Dugdale described them as "Boute-feus" and said that for their better support "the Puritan party, under colour of redeeming the Lord's Portion out of Lay hands," purchased Improvements. Fuller considered it "a pity that so fair a tree should be rent up by root and branch, for bearing bad—which might and would have borne better—fruit, with a little good digging about it and well husbandry thereof."

There were good results from their efforts as some in authority recognized. Bishop Barnaby Potter in 1633, when writing to the Mayor of Exeter to urge subscriptions from Devonians towards enlightening the great ignorance in his diocese of Carlisle, refers to a Lecturer found there on his arrival and two more very grave and godly men maintained partly by a private person out of an impropriation he held and "partly by the benevolence of Dorchester and Lyme."³⁴ There is little doubt that one of these was Mr. Polwhele, to whom White sent part of a legacy, as will be seen in a later chapter. It is evident that there was a close connection between this scheme of the Feoffees and the movement which led to the arrest of White and Stoughton.

Another Puritan centre at this period was Sion College, where ministers of London and its vicinity assembled, but until he held a living in that district White was not eligible for membership; by that time it is somewhat doubtful whether his opinions harmonized with those of the majority of that company, so it is not surprising that his name has not been found as a member of it.

³³ Ponet, *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 55. The Feoffees "had their mutuall intelligencers throughout the kingdom," one being "Poor Robin the Bible carrier."

³⁴ *Exeter Corporation Documents*, Letter 359.

CHAPTER XX

THE SEATON BUSINESS

[1633]

"Impropriations in the hands of laymen not employed for the maintenance of preachers were prejudicial to the Church of England and that was a good reason for many Divines to live poorly and that the purchasing of Impropriations for the maintenance of Divine Service and preaching is a pious work tending to the prevention of damage to the Church."

FEOFFEES' ANSWER.

THE application of the Improprate Parsonage scheme, described in the preceding chapter, to the necessities of Dorchester commended itself to John White, but he appears to have carried it out independently of the Feoffees.

White's efforts to reform the Borough required more assistance than was available. On his arrival in 1605, the other parish, All Saints', was in the hands of William Cheeke, who becoming blind and infirm soon after retired to one of the Almshouses where he lived for many years. He was succeeded by Robert Cheeke, who had been master of the Free School from 1595 or earlier. He was closely associated with White for more than twenty years in the task of improving the condition of the town. On his death on 8th October, 1627,¹ it was not easy to find a suitable successor. Samuel Whitfield, who had acted as White's assistant for a short period, was inducted into the church of All Saints' on 11th January, 1627/8,² though he was only twenty-seven years old, but he died

¹ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 129.

² *Ibid.*, f. 132. Samuel Whitfield was the son of William Whitfield of Mayfield, Surrey, and cousin of Henry Whitfield who emigrated to Connecticut in 1639.

in the following July. The next preferred to it was White's cousin, John Ball, who for nearly ten years had been Rector of Langton Matravers, Dorset; he signed the Articles as rector of All Saints' on 30th December, 1628, but he resigned it a few months later and by 7th May had returned to his former parish. But at last the right incumbent was found in William Benn who was admitted on 11th August, 1629. He is described by his son-in-law, Nathaniel Mather, as "a man so shining in holiness, so excelling in clearness of Gospel Light, and so abounding in solid, spiritual, practical, scriptural notions, that I have not known many that have gone beyond him, few that have equalled him."³ Others, less in sympathy with his views, considered him a veritable Puritan fire-brand. He did much to create the situation which caused Dorchester to be considered a nest of sedition.

The monetary value of the three Dorchester livings was insufficient for the maintenance of the clergy required. The evidence of John Gould, taken some years later, shows that before the late troubles the church of "the Holy and Individed Trinity" was endowed with an ample and settled revenue of six score pounds per annum or thereabouts. The endowments of St. Peter's, "the most ancient, he believed, but certainly the largest and most beautiful, he knows not", while All Hallows was endowed so meanly that at the time he spoke, 1665, without other help the Rector could not subsist, with the result that the incumbents of these two churches "were for their livelihood and subsistence much beholding to the benevolence and charity of their several and respective parishioners."⁴

The income White derived from his two benefices was not sufficient to allow of more than a young curate required to read the services in one of the two buildings, yet someone more experienced

A Henry Whitfield witnessed the will of John White of Stanton St. John in 1616, and there was a Henry, son of Henry Whitfield of Stanton St. John at All Souls College in 1687. The connexion between these Whitfields is not known.

³ *Righteousness of God through Faith*, 1684, p. 75.

⁴ *Chancery Proceedings*, C. 8. Mitford 226/76.

was needed to root out the remaining original sin visible to the keen-eyed Puritan, so an effort was made to obtain funds to support one of the ardent lecturers.

For the most part only youths, often fresh from the University, could be obtained and their stays were brief. After five years Edward Clark removed to Taunton; Ferdinando Nicholls was quickly presented to Sherborne; Samuel Whitfield, as we have seen, to All Saints'; the gentleman from the Palatinate, Rulye or Rulizius, was appointed agent for the Queen of Bohemia; Roger Darby, of a local family, just down from Oxford, John Strickland, within six months called to a Somerset living, Jonathan Lawrence, another neighbour, and John Giles were merely stop-gaps for brief periods.

A man of more weight and experience was needed, especially as White's work was increasing and his health and strength diminishing. Subscriptions had been obtained, as will be explained presently, with which the Mayor and Burgesses had purchased the improper parsonage of Seaton in Devonshire, wherewith to augment the income of the Dorchester clergy, so they wrote to a man of eminence, Thomas Hill, Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel College, Cambridge,⁵ on 18th February, 1632/3:—"We have in this town under Mr. White's charge two congregations, each of them containing at least a thousand souls, and two churches each of them capable of holding the people belonging unto them, but neither sufficient for both assemblies, which enforceth both ourselves and Mr. White to crave the assistance of another minister to join with him in his employment, and the rather to desire a man of more than ordinary abilities, because we find Mr. White, by reason of his years,⁶ and infirmities which hath lately fallen upon him, not so well able to continue the pains which he hath formerly taken amongst us, as heretofore. We do therefore, in the behalf of the people whom it concerns, and by their desire, earnestly request you to accept of the charge of one of these churches and congregations. We do by these promise you one hundred pounds per annum for your

⁵ He was afterwards a member of the Williams Committee with White.

⁶ White's *years* were but 57!

certain stipend (which we will be ready to assure you farther by any other reasonable way, during the time of your residence amongst us) and withal to provide that you may have the due respect amongst us that becomes your own worth and a minister of Christ.”⁷

Receiving an answer in the negative they sent a messenger to urge his reconsideration of the matter, “withal hoping of no disaffection of your own heart to this place and employment detains you from us, and conceiving a great likelihood of removing that impediment which now withholds you,” even if it were possible that he could come only for a brief time.⁸ But their request was not granted so, with Mr. White’s free concurrence,⁹ they wrote a similar letter to “Mr. Stephen Webb preacher of God’s word at Basing Stoake.” Although he said in his reply that “it will be no lost labour to refresh my spirit by seeing reverend Mr. White and observing your good order”, he did not feel himself called to work in that portion of the Lord’s Vineyard.¹⁰

At last, in November, 1633, they addressed “Mr. Hugh Thomson, Mr. of Arts and fellow of L. College in Exon [*i.e.* Oxon]”¹¹ offering only 60^{li} for his settled maintenance, with a promise of increase, but he stood out for 100^{li} per annum, which was promised for as long as he used his ministry there, on condition that he agreed not to accept any other preferment,¹² a wise proviso considering past experience. From the agreement it appears this sum was made up of 60^{li} out of Seaton Parsonage, 5^{li} out of Mr. Perkin’s gift,¹³ 20^{li} out of the Brewhouse which was usually paid to

⁷ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 597.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 598.

⁹ Is it to be inferred that the former letter was written without obtaining White’s consent to the offer?

¹⁰ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 600.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Probably Lincoln College.

¹² Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 195.

¹³ William Perkin’s legacy of 100^{li} to the Town in 1633 was to be employed “to some such good use as his father and Mr. John White, our minister, shall direct.” Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 557.

the Reader and 15^{li} more out of the profit of the Brewhouse.¹⁴

Thomson must have been a man after Benn's own heart—from his own county and his own college—so the town was at last supplied with three earnest Puritans intent on the same ends and the same methods of attaining them.

To augment the incomes of the Dorchester clergy sufficiently for this purpose, John White had made strenuous efforts; he persuaded the parishioners of All Saints', who attended a meeting, to subscribe liberally, 32^{li} being added to the sum already given by some of the chiefest parishioners of that parish; he himself contributed forty shillings. He procured assistance from Mr. William Rolfe, "who had the disposing of moneys given by well-disposed gentlemen in London,"¹⁵ doubtless "Mr. Rolfe the Scrivener, a man much busied and employed by Mr. Smith", who was to persuade Mr. Smith to settle the money he intended for good uses "upon the parties trusted for buying in of Impropropriations,"¹⁶ as we learn from the action against the Feoffees, so it is not surprising to find it stated that the executors of Henry Smith, Esquire, paid to the Corporation of Dorchester, on 10th June, 1630, 200^{li}, "parcel of a greater sum given by him, towards buying Impropropriations for the good of the church, and they agreed to apply the same towards purchasing the Improprate Parsonage of Seaton, or some other Impropropriation, for enlarging the maintenance of the ministers of the three Dorchester parishes", and a further sum of 100^{li} was received from the same source the same day.¹⁷

About the same time a legacy of 30^{li} accrued to them from John Gould, a fellow townsman, bequeathed "towards purchasing of some Impropropriation or other lands to redound unto the benefit and maintenance of the ministers" of Dorchester, which the Corpora-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 601.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 623.

¹⁶ *Harleian MS.* 832, f. 27.

¹⁷ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 623, note. This was apparently Henry Smith, esq., of St. Olave, Silver Street, London, whose will [P. C. C. I Barington] was proved in 1628.

tion agreed to expend towards the purchase of Seaton and Beer within six months.¹⁸ To this sum his son James added 10^{li}.¹⁹

Others "about the Borough and elsewhere, being moved by the earnest solicitation of John White, clerk . . . Rector of the holy and individed Trinity and other",²⁰ contributed to the fund; among those noted were:—from Mr. John Blatchford, a magistrate of the town, 100^{li}; 200^{li} or 300^{li} "taken out of the public stock which had been given at public fasts, which was at the disposal of the Mayor, given for public uses;" 500^{li} or 600^{li} that Mr. White collected "from some charitable persons about London for the increase of ministers' maintenance,"²¹ 45^{li} by Mr. White of Oxfordshire."²²

About eighty contributors attended a meeting held in St. Peter's Church on the Lord's day in the afternoon, and agreed that the benefit of the purchase of Seaton "should remain and redound to said ministers and their successors forever, and to no other use."²³

At last, in 1631, by hook or by crook, nearly enough had been collected, and by borrowing 300^{li} from Bernard Toup, 100^{li} from Mr. Bateman and 50^{li} belonging to Mrs. Margaret Cheeke,²⁴ the amount was made up to 1500^{li}, which was expended as agreed upon the purchase of the inappropriate parsonage of Seaton and Beer in Devon, close to the boundary line of Dorset.

The choice of this particular benefice was apparently made by White. The then incumbent was Henry Paynter, instituted in

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 622.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 624.

²⁰ *Chancery Proceedings*, C. 8. Mitford 224/70.

²¹ This may have been a contribution from the Feoffees' funds, though it does not appear in their accounts. They held, however, the lease of certain tithes at Lyme Regis and Halstock. This sum may include the legacy from Mr. Smith.

²² Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 625. This would be White's brother Steven.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ William Whiteway the elder had advanced this money belonging to Margaret Cheeke. These sums were to be repaid from the Brewhouse stock or by the Town Steward. See Mayo, p. 712.

1612,²⁵ with whom the Patriarch was acquainted before the date of the purchase. In 1630 Paynter married the much-wedded niece of Mrs. John White, Priscilla, daughter of John Burges; she had married, as her second husband, John Winthrop's brother-in-law, and many of her blood relations and step relations were closely connected with New England.²⁶ When Paynter, her third spouse, proposed marriage, she wrote a quaint letter to Winthrop desiring his advice:—"In the man I see that which I chiefly aim at in a husband, which is grace and godliness with gifts suitable to his calling, though in outward estate he comes short of any that hath been yet moved to me. These things, with his importunity and pains in coming so far, hath bred such distraction in my mind as truly I know not what to do, but mine eyes are towards the Lord for direction in this weighty business. Good brother help with your prayers and best advice, for I have now cast myself upon you and my father and Mr. White to whom I pray make known this business and crave his counsel in it."²⁷ It is gathered that although White may not have entertained so high an opinion of Paynter as did the bride-to-be, he counselled her to marry the minister.

But before this date, in 1627, Paynter had betaken himself to St. Petrock's, Exeter, leaving as curate-in-charge, William Walton,²⁸ late of Emmanuel College, who had married White's niece, Elizabeth Cooke, and later with her emigrated to New England.²⁹

²⁵ *Episcopal Registers*, Exeter.

²⁶ Priscilla Burges married first Bezaleel Sherman; secondly Thomas Fones, whose first wife was Anne, sister of John Winthrop, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. A year before Priscilla married Paynter her step-daughter, Elizabeth Fones, married Henry, second son of John Winthrop, and in 1631 her step-daughter Martha Fones married John Winthrop, Jr. About the same time that Priscilla made her third marriage her daughter Ursula Sherman became engaged to Forth Winthrop. Later, in 1641, her son John Sherman married Elizabeth Paynter, daughter of Henry by his first wife, Jane Starr.

²⁷ *Life of Winthrop*, I. p. 360.

²⁸ See *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, V. 42. He was licensed to hold the curacy on 31st March, 1628.

²⁹ He became minister of Marblehead, Massachusetts, where he was greatly respected. He died there in 1668.

It was during Walton's time at Seaton that negotiations for its purchase were concluded with the Yonges, patrons of that living. Whiteway records under 9th December, 1630:—"This day the parsonage of Beere and Seton was bought and paid for by this town and other well affected persons. It was valued at 120^{li} per annum. It cost 1400^{li} and is to go to the maintenance of the ministers of this town."³⁰

The actual vendor was William Fry of Yarty in Membury, Devon, who had received the advowson as part of his wife's dower on his marriage with Mary, the daughter of John Yonge of Colyton and sister of Walter Yonge. Fry and the two Yonges, it will be remembered, were adventurers in the Dorchester Company, therefore it will be seen there were many influences that affected White's choice of this particular Impropriation.

The money was paid down in Mr. Walter Yonge's house in Colyton,³¹ and a twenty-one years' lease, dated October, 1631, was made out in favour of Richard Blatchford, merchant, John Hill, ironmonger, and Richard Savage, draper, and another for ninety-nine years from its expiration to William Joliffe, draper, James Gould, esq., Richard Bury and Henry Maber, clothier,³² while the Mayor, Recorder and certain representative burgesses³³ were appointed a board of management.

In the first year 100^{li} out of the profits of Seaton were divided equally between the minister of All Saints' and Mr. White's assistant in Trinity and Peter's.³⁴ Later 80^{li} were granted to the Rector of St. Peter's and 60^{li} to the Rector of All Saints'.³⁵ It

³⁰ *Diary*, f. 160.

³¹ Deposition of Richard Savage in *Municipal Records*, Book C. 8.—copied by the late Mr. H. J. Moule.

³² Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 624. This method was adopted to carry on the tenure indefinitely.

³³ These were:—John Perkins, Dennis Bond, Richard Savage, James Gould, William Whiteway, William Derby, William Whiteway, jr., Edmund Dashwood, William Joliffe, Bernard Toup, John Blachford and William Perkins—probably the Councilmen of the day.

³⁴ Mayo, *Ibid.*, p. 713.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 624.

was agreed that some portion should be allotted to the incumbent of Seaton whenever it should chance that the new owners of the living had power to present to it, but for the moment there was no prospect of the presentation falling to them; that could happen only when the present incumbent resigned or died and Paynter, to all appearances, had no intention of doing either; it was far too convenient to receive the income and pay only part of it to a curate-in-charge.

Some attempt seems to have been made, however, to obtain the opportunity to place in it a minister to White's liking, but as far as can be judged from a letter found later in White's study,³⁶ this was unsuccessful. It was written by Sir Walter Erle, dated at Charborough, 8th August, 1632, and addressed to "My reverend and worthy friend Mr. John White, preacher of God's Word at Dorchester":—"When Mr. Walton, your kinsman and my friend, was here I made so bold as to ask him what became of the project of bringing³⁷ in the man that heretofore styled himself "the King's conformable clerk" to succeed him at Seaton. I was (it would seem) the first man that brought it to Mr. Walton's knowledge and that at my last being in Devonshire, having before that gotten some inkling thereof upon another occasion, wherewith you are partly acquainted. Mr. Walton tells me that the onset on his part is somewhat strong and if his own forwardness had been as much as the others, the business had in effect been at an end. This (I confess) while he was relating it did not a little trouble me until I heard that it was not as yet concluded. I think you partly remember the words that I spake concerning this when last I passed through Dorchester, insinuating the mischief that I conceived was likely to come to those parts thereby if it should take effect, together with the loss that I feared of all (or the greatest part) of some late labours and endeavours of mine in respect of the good that I aimed at and hoped for. I need not say anything unto you of this man's disposition; you know how shy good men have been

³⁶ See below, p. 300.

³⁷ The *Calendar of State Papers* has "buying."

and still are of him in places where he is most and best known if there were nothing else to despise the man's carriage in that business which he made to be his errand unto me, and since that in this very particular thing and the managing thereof is sufficient to show his genius, what it is. Sir, I beseech you to be so tender not only of that place and the country thereabout, but of your own credit and esteem also, as not to have any hand in giving way to his restless spirit in this thing but to the contrary to take off Mr. P—— and others from it as much as possibly you may, which if you should not I fear that many which you wish well unto shall rue it. I should have said more unto you concerning this when I was last with you if the time would have given me leave. Mr. W. will acquaint you with my desire concerning notice of the E. of Clare's arrival. My paper and time call upon me to conclude; I therefore end remaining your most assured

Walter Erle.³⁸

It is not apparent who was "the King's conformable clerk" but the arrangements connected with the living were obviously a source of considerable anxiety to John White and his friends.

There is reason to believe that Paynter retained the living for a considerable time after this letter was written, but eventually, when the Corporation did obtain possession, there was chronic difficulty in collecting the revenues; they had trouble in extracting tithes due, agents were sent to investigate claims of exemption, whether certain "unnent" meadows, claimed to be free by custom, were liable to tithe—if the custom proved ancient it was to be allowed, if not payment must be insisted upon; they even appealed to

³⁸ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I, 222. 24. The letter is quoted at length as the writer of the account of John White in the *Victoria County History of Dorset* misapplies to White himself the statement about the shyness of good men—thereby throwing undeserved aspersions upon him; even from the abstract in the Calendar it is obvious that the reference is to the King's conformable clerk. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the same writer confounds with the Patriarch the John White who would not keep Good Friday, and John White, vicar of Feering, who were by no means the same person as our hero.

Paynter, then in Exeter, to find them a suitable proctor to get a "Cytatyon" against Mr. Hodge.³⁹

Not only was the collection of tithes troublesome, but there was difficulty in finding a suitable minister, which was not surprising as they offered Henry Derby, minister in 1647, the vicarage, with 20^{li} a year and such arrears of tithes as he might be able to collect, estimated at 10^{li} altogether, and a year later Mr. Munden, now minister of Long Burton, was offered the vicarage house and all the profits of the vicarage if he would teach the people and officiate the cures of Seaton and Beer for a year; apparently this was not accepted as a month later "Mr. Smyth, recommended by Mr. Walter Yonge for Seaton Vicarage," was told that "if he pleased to reside for some time at Seaton and preach amongst them, so as satisfaction upon experience may be given to the godly party of the parish of his fitness and abilities, upon their certificate in his behalf" the vicarage would be conferred upon him, with either 10^{li} out of Seaton parsonage, or else the whole tithes if he would pay 20^{li} a year to the Corporation for the minister of Fordington. Even this failed to attract, it would seem, as in July, 1648, "a minister, one Mr. John Derby, was here with Mr. Mayor and the Company about the Vicarage of Seaton" if he had the vicarage and an augmentation.⁴⁰ "The Company's answer is to have him preach here Sabbath day come sennight."⁴¹ But it was about this date that their troubles with tithes and worries over suitable ministers reached a climax, and the falling in of a lease of the parsonage,

³⁹ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, 625 *et seq.*

⁴⁰ See "A Forgotten Page of the Ecclesiastical History of Seaton," *Devonshire Association Transactions*, XXX. pp. 331-349, with additions and corrections printed in *Devon Notes & Queries*, IV. p. 262 and V. pp. 42 & 83. It is somewhat uncertain whether the above ministers were curates or incumbents. Walton had been curate-in-charge under Paynter; Hugh Gundry succeeded him, signed the registers until 1641 and was buried at Seaton in 1648. John Norsworthy signed these between 1642 and 1648, describing himself as "Minister of God's Word"; he had a child baptized there in 1650, and in the will of Mrs. Jane Yonge, dated 15th November, 1654, is styled "Vicar of Seaton."

⁴¹ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, 634 *et seq.*

without the advowson, which had been made to a man who acted as their steward,⁴² gave them an opportunity; on Mr. White's advice they decided to sell their whole interest in Seaton, Mr. Walter Yonge being known to desire to purchase it. Therefore on 12th February, 1647/8, they informed him that they proposed "to take the first good chapman," that is, close with the first reasonable purchaser, as experience showed that the remote distance caused much inconvenience, for which reason they were willing to part with it "upon such terms as we hope you will judge reasonable."⁴³ These terms were reasonable enough to form a basis of negotiation with the result that, on 4th April, 1648,⁴⁴ the impropriate tithes of Beer were sold to Sir Walter for 850^{li} and six months later, 13th October, he obtained the impropriate tithes of Seaton with the patronage of the vicarage upon another "bargain" for 300^{li}, subject to a reservation of a payment of 20^{li} yearly to the Lecturer of Seaton,⁴⁵ which sum the Corporation had settled by a deed of gift on the Vicar of that parish on condition that he preached every Sabbath Day in Seaton Church, "which was done as an expression of the Town's acknowledgment and thankfulness to God for that more liberal provision which he had made for their ministers' supply and encouragement."⁴⁶

But even after the sale on this condition they appear to have had some difficulty in obtaining payment, for on the 9th February following, Mr. Yonge was to be asked for "100^{li} of his money for Seaton parsonage, which is for the present to be lent to the Brew House to help pay for their coals which are now come from Newcastle."⁴⁷

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁴⁴ *Municipal Document*, Book C. 12, note made by the late H. J. Moule.

⁴⁵ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 628.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 630. An attempt was made to recover this annuity because of the loss of income sustained by the minister during the wars.

⁴⁷ From Mr. Moule's notes mentioned above. The "coals from Newcastle" were purchased as a speculation to benefit the Brew House; on 1st June, 1649, reference is made to 10^{li} for certain expenses, which sum was to be taken "from

However, full payment must have been made before long as the proceeds of the sale were divided into three portions; 450^{li} was lent to the Steward of Fordington Vicarage for repayment of loans and expenses connected with its purchase; 450^{li} was lent to the Town Steward for the payment of the Borough Members of Parliament, to be used for the purchase of Fee Farm Rents, for paying the Schoolmaster's arrears and for disbursements during the wars, and 200^{li} to the Steward of the Hospital to set children on work and to increase the stock of the Brew House.⁴⁸

The more liberal provision which God had made for their ministers' supply, for which they expressed their thankfulness in the deed of sale, was the purchase of an impropriate parsonage nearer home—that of Fordington, which parish almost surrounds the town of Dorchester. This had become available in 1646 when they were nearly at their wit's end over the troubles connected with Seaton, so they had made application to Parliament that it might be bestowed on the town to augment the maintenance of their ministers, for by this date their pastor, who had been in London, assisting Parliamentary government by his labours in the Assembly of Divines, was about to return to reside in Dorchester. By 6th October, 1647, matters were so far advanced towards the consummation of their desires that they were able to assign 200^{li} per annum out of the profits of Fordington parsonage for the maintenance of a minister to assist John White.⁴⁹ The consent of Parliament cost the Corporation 200^{li}, while 400^{li} more had been expended in buying out the lease of the tenant then holding it.⁵⁰ It proved not only an expensive but, in the end, a very bad bargain.

the profits of the ship-load of Newcastle coals which lately came to the Brew-house."—Mayo, p. 531.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 602. As early as 27th November, 1646, the Dorset Standing Committee allotted twenty pounds out of the impropriate parsonage of Fordington to Gabriel Reeve, the master of the Free School of Dorchester. See above p. 85.

⁵⁰ From *Municipal Documents*, Book C. 12, note supplied by the late H. J. Moule.

Soon after the Restoration the Corporation became involved in a lawsuit begun in 1663 brought by Richard Wyne, then vicar of All Saints', against Sir Walter Yonge and two of the surviving trustees under the Seaton lease. Wyne stated that he received only 25^{li} a year and that St. Peter's was void for want of maintenance, due to a breach of trust when Seaton Parsonage was sold, the purchaser being aware that the sale of an estate held for pious uses was void. The Corporation submitted points for Counsel's opinion, among them whether the sale was to be reputed to have been by their direction or the distinct act of the trustees; if the former, who should make good the "pious uses," the Corporation or the individuals? They were advised that the trustees must be held harmless but the purchaser, Yonge, must be re-imbursed, even if the stock and lands of the Corporation had to be sequestered. The case lingered on, there was talk of a compromise and apparently a chance of selling their rights. Sir Heneage Finch advised that "the best way is to agree with Sir Walter Y. for the repurchase of Seaton, to settle it upon the charitable use, and so prevent a hearing, wherein the honest successors will suffer for their predecessors."⁵¹

A curious letter from the ministers of Dorchester gives a little further light; after questioning whether an agreement between the magistrates, ministers and Yonge would hold good in law, warning the Corporation to answer warily, and suggesting holding the trustees responsible, they reminded the Corporation that 340^{li} of the Seaton money had been spent on Holy Trinity Parsonage and certain sums had been otherwise expended, while "particular persons" were ready to contribute towards the difference, so it was a pity "to let a purchase of fifteen hundred pounds be lost for want of eleven hundred"⁵² and, besides, they might get an order in Chancery for interest on their original investment payable out of the Seaton tithes.

In the end the Corporation decided, in 1666, to approach Sir

⁵¹ From Mr. Moule's notes and from Mayo, *Municipal Documents*, pp. 630 *et seq.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 632.

Walter, who replied that though it was necessary to have his possession of the parsonage established by a Decree, he consented to allow his attorney to discuss the matter with them, so he had given "such instructions as you shall judg fayre and rasanable, and will bring the buisnesse, if there be the like cander on the other part to an acapable conclusion."⁵³ An agreement must have been concluded as the Yonges continued to present to the living until 1710, when it was in the hands of Sir William Drake of Ashe.

The money collected for purchasing an improprieate parsonage to augment the Dorchester livings, as we have seen, was expended on Seaton, then reinvested in Fordington, a certain portion being devoted to the purchase of Holy Trinity Parsonage. But on the Restoration, Fordington reverted to its former owner, the Church of Sarum. "Soe," the record concludes, "all is gone from the Ministers, and not one farthing benefitt accrewes to them. They were very liberall of other men's estates, as appears by their sale."⁵⁴

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 634; acapable?==acceptable.

⁵⁴ From Mr. Moule's notes.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SABBATH

"The Day of Rest is not only Blessed, but Sanctified also, that is set apart from Common use to be holy unto the Lord, as that phrase is explained in the Fourth Commandment."

JOHN WHITE

TOWARDS the end of the Sixteenth Century the sacredness of the Lord's Day had become disregarded to such an extent, and the laxity of its observance was so general, that a marked reaction took place. In 1592 Richard Greenham, who had already been suspended for his opinions on Ceremonies, was so deeply affected by the prevailing licentiousness, especially in this respect, that he strove to recall the nation to its duty. Shortly afterwards Dr. Bound published a book on *The Sabbath*. "When the question was once fairly placed before them, the dullest congregation of the most stupid rustics could not but be struck with the monstrous and indecent inconsistency which every returning Sunday presented:—the fourth commandment was read in the forenoon with every circumstance calculated to inspire awe and reverence; the afternoon was devoted to fencing, and shooting, and bowling; to May games and morris dancing; the clergyman himself too often a spectator, if not a sharer in the sports. The parish church was frequently the scene of uproar. The painted harlequin rushed into it followed by a crowd of the dissolute and idle, and the instant the service closed one might hear the jingling of his bells and see his company gathering round their leader in their fools coats of many a colour."¹

¹ Marsden, *Early Puritans*, p. 246.

It is said that Bound's vivid denunciation moved the people themselves to begin a reformation, the "preciser sort" forbearing all such sports; but the learned argued warmly, some contending that this was the replacing of a Jewish yoke removed under the New Dispensation. The observance or non-observance of the Sabbath indicated the Puritan or the High Churchman. In 1618 King James observed the "preciseness of some magistrates and ministers" in preventing recreations on Sunday, which caused Papists to say that "no honest mirth was tolerable in our religion," so he issued his famous "Book of Sports", which the clergy, on their canonical obedience, were to promulgate in their churches. Many of them did so with great reluctance, but Archbishop Abbot firmly declined to read it at Croydon, thereby shaming the King and Council so that they forbore prosecuting recalcitrant clergy on this score.

All this occurred while John White was at the University where he was already associating with the "preciser sort". His own opinions, expressed later, indicate that while he strongly insisted upon the observance of the Sabbath Day, he took a more liberal view than his bigoted brethren. On the vexed question of kindling a fire for the "preparation of food or other lawful occasions" he held that work proper to all callings might be done on the Sabbath Day, but while on other days such was done to enable us to labour, on the Sabbath they were required to strengthen us for Holy Duties. Faithful ministers and others, therefore, need not on that day forgo comfortable food. The Israelites may have been forbidden to dress manna on the Sabbath,—that may have been "as good and comfortable eaten hot or cold,"—but Christ allowed the beast to be taken from the stall to be watered on the Sabbath, yet water placed in the stall overnight "would refresh it sufficiently, better than meat dressed overnight could comfort many men." It was also argued that as Adam laboured not he could not rest from his labours, nor did he need a Sabbath in respect of his mind, which was continually filled with heavenly thoughts. White maintained that while Adam on other days was heavenly-minded on earthly things, on the Sabbath he should have been wholly heavenly-minded

in the use of heavenly things; labour had been forbidden to man chiefly that he might have time for spiritual duties, but he was also required to use self-denial in pleasures or secular affairs. He pointed out that when a man had carried out all the spiritual duties which he laid down as requisite on the Sabbath Day, little time would be left for secular occupations and certainly none for sports.

The Sabbatarian Controversy remained for a time quiescent after punishments ceased to be inflicted in connexion with the "Book of Sports", but some fifteen years later again came to the front; the revels held on the Feast Days of the Dedications of Churches were considered responsible for many existing disorders, so that in 1632 the Justices of the Peace in Somerset petitioned the Lord Chief Justice Richardson and Baron Denham, then riding the Western Circuit, to take steps to put a stop to such "Wakes." Finding a precedent in Elizabethan times, they willingly issued an order to that effect, which they commanded should be delivered to every parish minister. Laud considered this an infringement of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction and demanded an investigation into Richardson's action; but the Lord Chief countered with an even stricter charge at the Assizes, on the ground that he had received further petitions from the Justices. Laud therefore commanded the Bishop of Bath and Wells to obtain a petition from the gravest of his clergy, who were best affected to the Church and Government, objecting to this debarring of the people from these "neighbourly meetings and recreations" under frivolous pretences, for "Humorists" in that district were uniting themselves to prevent these Feasts. The Bishop succeeded in obtaining the required petition from a "Septuagint" of beneficed clergy on the ground that the Feasts were both beneficial and civilizing to the people; this he forwarded with the comment that "the chiefest cause of the dislike of these Feasts among the preciser sort is because they are kept on Sundays, which they never call but Sabbath Days, upon which they would have no manner of recreation, nay, neither Roast nor Sod."

Upon such evidence Richardson was commanded to reverse his

order, and after special instructions had been obtained from the king to enforce this command, he reluctantly obeyed, as far as in him lay, informing the Grand Jury that he believed he and his brother Denham had done God, the King and the country, good service by their former order, but he believed that if the Justices would truly inform the King, his order would be revived.² They followed his advice, but it is incorrectly said that Laud prevented the delivery of the petition, for Whiteway records under 1633 that:—"Whitsonales and May games were this year much countenanced by special order from the Court in which Sir Robert Philips and Sir Charles Barkley of Somersetshire were very forward. But Sir Arthur Hopton got a petition subscribed with the hands of 36 Justices of that County to the which the 2 knights aforesaid and Dr. Godwin refused to subscribe. This petition he presented to the king at Woodstocke where the king conferred with him about it in private and gave him such satisfaction that at his return he bound over 120 of the revellers unto the Assizes. The sum of the petition was to set out the dangerous consequence of Whitsonales, in which feast all [blank in MS. ? offences] had been this year committed in that county."³

Richardson himself was summoned to Laud's presence where he received such a "rattling" that he came out dejectedly and with tears in his eyes, declaring he was "like to be choked with the Archbishop's lawn sleeves."⁴

By this time Laud had determined to make the "Book of Sports" a test of opinion and obtained an order signed by the King:—"Canterbury. See that our declaration concerning recreations on the Lord's Day, after evening Prayer, be printed," and its public reading by the ministers was required. Later, Laud's justification

² See Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 376; Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 141 and *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 247.

³ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 185. His own disapproval may be inferred from the entry under 13th May, 1634, "At Glastonbury while the people were busy setting up a Maypole, it fell on the head of a son of one of the most forward, and beat out his brains."

⁴ Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 141.

for his proceedings was that the King had been troubled by petitions from the chief men in Somerset on both sides.⁵

The re-issue of the Book of Sports aroused intense feeling—some ministers refused to read it, others read it and then repeated the Ten Commandments, giving their congregations both the laws of God and of man. Protests were unavailing and the Court of High Commission was kept busy with prosecutions of recalcitrant clergy.

Whiteway records the course of events; under 18th October, 1633, he writes:—“The King set forth a book to give liberty unto sports and pastimes upon Sunday after Evening Prayers, in confirmation of the liberty granted [by his father] to Lancashire men in his return out of Scotland, 1617, and required all ministers to publish it in the Church, which divers in conscience refused to do and many after they had read it shewed that it was against the Word of God,”⁶ and a few days later he writes of a protest from a sturdy protestant of the neighbouring county,—“Mr. Ignatius Jordan⁷ wrote to Dr. Hall Bishop of Exon lying in London to move the King for the calling in of his book lately set out for sports upon Sundays, or to shew his letter to the king, which he did, and [blank in MS. ? the Bishop sent] a sharp letter back to Mr. Jordan taxing him for his indiscreet zeal, the king was offended with this letter because it seemed to call his Prerogative in question.”⁸

Nor was White neglectful of his duties, for somewhere about this time he preached a sermon on “The Morality of the Fourth Commandment”, in which he recapitulated the many spiritual duties to be performed on the Sabbath, reading and hearing the Word of God, preparation for and attendance at Church Services, works of mercy, etc., which, if properly accomplished, left little time for secular occupations, and pointed out that the Jewish rest could not have included cessation from such holy labours; regarding the

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁶ *Diary*, f. 189.

⁷ A prominent Puritan of Exeter.

⁸ *Diary*, f. 190.

Commandment to refrain from work on the Lord's Day, he exclaims:—"Was it then a ceasing from labours to follow sports, that the Sabbath might be like the feast of the Calfe? or was it rest from worldly labours to fit men and give them more leisure to attend to holy duties?"⁹ His opinion on the burning question of the day he expresses elsewhere when referring to the evil of employing consecrated time for labour or, "what is worse," he exclaims, "for the satisfying of the flesh in vain Sports (to call them by no worse name) which we abusively term Recreations, by which the mind is more affected and distracted than it is by ordinary Labour."¹⁰ With such sentiments, which White was not slow to express openly, he was likely to attract the attention of the authorities, but, at all risks, he felt obliged to obey the dictates of his conscience, and the Dorcestrians could but look on dismayed.

The town had indeed received the news of the reimposition of the Book of Sports with much perturbation; the King's order had reached them in October and nearly nine months had elapsed, yet their pastor firmly refused to fulfil its requirements. His parishioners grew anxious about the consequences, especially as the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Bishop of Winchester eagerly urged it upon their clergy, and divers ministers were suspended for refusing to read it, who all appealed from the bishops to the delegates. Whiteway adds this comment:—"The Bishop of Bristol and the Chancellor urged Mr. White to read it before the Archbishop's visitation, and upon his refusal the Churchwardens in his absence procured Mr. Holliday to read it on Friday morning, 11 July, none being then at Church but he and the clerk and the churchwardens. When Mr. White heard of it he was exceeding angry. It was read in St. Peter's Church. Mr. Ben refused utterly to read it."¹¹

Excitement over this incident ran high and danger, they knew, was imminent; the Archbishop's Vicar General, Sir Nathaniel

⁹ *Way to the Tree of Life*, p. 290.

¹⁰ *Three First Chapters of Genesis*, Bk. II. p. 15.

¹¹ *Diary*, f. 206.

Brent, made a general visitation of all the West country and visited the deanery of Dorchester, and the next day the Peculiars;¹² according to custom on such occasions, sermons were delivered. "The first day there preached Mr. Moone of Maine¹³ and taxed the Justices that punished ministers for going to the [Taverns?]. The second day preached Mr. Pitt, an Arminian, and inveighed against the repeating of sermons. The Vicar lay all the Visitation and three days before at Wotton at Sir Thomas Trenchard's: He was feasted one night there by Mr. Joliffe, mayor, at the charge of the town. He pressed upon the clergy the observation of the ceremonies very earnestly and bowing at the name of Jesus, the surplice, the reading of double service with much more, affirming that the present Archbishop would require no more than hath been required ever since the Reformation; while he lay at Wotton Sir Thomas Trenchard fell down at the stairs and was like to break his neck."¹⁴

Although White appears to have escaped, through the unauthorized action of Mr. Holliday, the serious consequences of his firm adherence to his determination to avoid the promulgation of the Book of Sports, and was strenuous in his endeavours to enforce the observance of the Sabbath, his influence over his parishioners, great as it undoubtedly was, proved insufficient to stamp out the original sin still existing in Dorchester, and the civil power was sometimes necessary to bring home his teaching by inflicting punishments. As early as 1629 one Leonard Miller and his men were caught brewing on the Sabbath, but he willingly paid the fine inflicted as it was but ten groats, no more than for drinking a quart of wine in an inn or alehouse. Another man was charged with leaving the

¹² Districts under "peculiar jurisdiction", a technical term.

¹³ East Meon, Hants.

¹⁴ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 207. It may have been that at this Visitation the Vicar General ordered the Communion Table to be placed in its former position which, it may be assumed White had had placed after the Puritan fashion, and also that this order was not complied with, for there is an entry in the Church-wardens' Accounts for Holy Trinity for 1635/6, of expenses "for 1/2 Citation to Court" concerning the Communion Table.—Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 651, Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 401.

church on the Sabbath day in the middle of the service, to go maying, and another on the Sabbath went nutting the whole afternoon till six o'clock. A large number of boys were accused of having met together on the Sabbath day in Farmer Monday's ground at Burton to play Nine Holes for money, a farthing a game; one confessed to have lost a farthing and another as much as a penny, but their offence was aggravated by the fact that this occurred about four o'clock and none of them had been to any church that day. They were bound over not to play unlawful games and were fined a shilling each for absence from Church, yet later some of the same boys were caught playing Five Holes or Nine Holes at the time of Evening Prayer, and one was put in the stocks.¹⁵

Between the minister's denunciations and the penalties imposed by the civic authorities the youths of the day had a hard time.

¹⁵ These incidents will be found in Mayo, *Municipal Records*, pp. 651, 658, 659, 661, 663.

CHAPTER XXII

A REMARKABLE SERMON

"The great art in Preaching is to make things clear, and evident, by expressing them spiritually, as they are spirituall in themselves, which needs more help of Logick, than of Rhetorick, but more Experience than them both."

JOHN WHITE.

THE two Judges riding the Western Circuit promulgated in Somersetshire their severe order against Sunday sports on 19th March, 1632/3, but just previously they had held the Assizes at Dorchester and John White preached before them, on 7th March, a remarkable sermon, which requires something more than passing comment, especially as it is one of the comparatively few utterances of his surviving.

It contains much food for thought; it trod on dangerous ground and what he said was open to misconstruction by friend and foe alike. Though not oblivious of the risks involved, with characteristic courage he spake out his thoughts as the Lord gave him utterance. He ventured to deal with the delicate question of the weak points of the cause he had at heart at the risk of incurring the odium of his Puritan friends should he fail to make his position clearly understood.

The situation was complicated by an accusation made against him personally in connexion with a case concerning the evasion of payment of customs, which had become the basis of a lawsuit; the King's Customer, John Gardener,¹ who had been taking active

¹ *Diary*, f. 188. Mr. Gardener seems to have been a common informer as, in 1634, a long suit was terminated in the Exchequer concerning a breach of the Statute of Labourers charged against certain prominent Dorchester merchants by him.

steps already in 1631 "troubled divers merchants to go to London to be examined about the stealing of customs," and a test case was brought against John Blatchford, one of White's parishioners. There were charges of fraud, counter-charges that the Customer had exceeded his duties, recriminations, a stealing by him of a commission, imprisonment of the Customer for contempt, etc., etc., and many of the great men of the district found themselves involved; White himself was accused of favouring an offender against the King's laws—the matter was, in truth, closely connected with the imposition of illegal exactions, and local men, for their own benefit, were not slow in following the example of Hollis, Eliot and the other leaders.²

White was, in fact, in a dilemma—he believed in law and order and the upholding of authority, yet he sympathized with the men who protested against the abuses of the law by those in power. The only way out seemed to be to uphold the King's authority in things temporal and to attribute the abuses to those advisers who misled him into a wrong interpretation of the law of the land.

In an introduction attached to the sermon quoted below, he declared that he had to deal with obedience to authority in the regular course of catechising and was moved by the local affair and "other incident occasions" which "carried a great stroake" in

² Whiteway gives many graphic details:—when Gardener saw the case going against him he swept up the Royal Commission from the table and put it in his pocket; at Weymouth he spoke disgracefully and disdainfully of the Justices etc., etc.

Interesting details will be found in:—*Exchequer Bills & Answers*, Chas. I. No. 22, *Exchequer Depositions*, Chas. I. No. 39, *Chancery Depositions*, Chas. I. No. 358/40. The suit originated in a charge of blasphemous swearing and drunkenness for which Thomas Gyar, mayor of Weymouth, condemned John Gardener—a picturesque description of the delivery of a writ detaining a mayoral procession is given. Gyar, Blatchford and Walton were heavily fined and committed to the Fleet; the first two conveyed away their estates and fled to France. Others were persecuted by Gardener. Thomas Blatchford, already a fugitive, clandestinely visited Weymouth, and, having beaten a certain pursuivant at "Bolayes," was betrayed by him, but took refuge with a friend in an outhouse, which was burnt down because a servant "let fall a smoke among the turves." Gardener died in June 1640, heavily indebted to the King.

fixing his thoughts thereon, and as some like occasions elsewhere “discovered the errors of men in their carriage towards Governours to be an epidemically disease,” he thought fit, by way of instructing his own people and removing this scandal, to proclaim “that groundles Jealousies, uncharitable Constructions, harsh Censures, unchristian Imprecations, Insolent behaviour and uncivill Carriage towards such as are in place of authority are but the fruite of some distempered passions, of ill-governed minds, and not the effects or Issues of any Godly dispositions, which being governed by the Spirit are taught to yield unto all men the fruits of Love, Peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness and meekness; and much more towards such as are in authority, honour, reverence, subjection and fervent Prayers, for the prosperity of their persons and estates.” The “dangerous evill of swelling the heart against higher powers” was due to the lack of inculcation of obedience into children and servants, which presage, if no improvement takes place, “a fearful Confusion to Insue.”

The presence of the Judges and the pomp and splendour of “Assize Sunday”, attracting many from afar, gave him the desired opportunity to preach on the subject. His text was from Psalm 82, verse 6. “I have said ye are Gods.” “The words which I have chosen as the fittest theme for this Assembly and Occasion, are part of an Assize Sermon Preached by God himselfe in Person in the most Solemne Assembly that ever was, a meeting of the Gods of the earth, upon an occasion of a high nature, the arraignment of all the great Monarchs of the world, Indighted of the foulest Crime that can be charged upon them, the abuse of their places and offices, producing the most dangerous effects that can be Imagined, the generall disturbance of the whole world; and thereof by the most authentically testimony.” He dealt with the reverence that should be accorded to those in authority—those who despised Saul were marked out for “Sons of Belial;” the higher the authority the greater the offence, “to beguile the King is not only base robbery but sacrilege, to scandalize him is not a simple slander but a degree of blasphemy, to violate his person is not an ordinary murder but

treason and parricide in the highest nature. Secondly, consider the things of this nature are not more hainous then manifest, and impossible to be hid, Curse not the King, no not in thy thoughts. . . . that which hath wings shall declare the matter . . . and a man possessed with Gods feare, would rather trespass upon his own liberty, estate or peace, then hazard himselfe upon the gulfes of Gods fearfull indignation, by slighting or contemning his power and authority in his Vicegerents, that bear his Image."

With much emphasis he insisted that he addressed his present congregation alone, his words must not be applied to the great political questions of the day; he warns them that they should correct "this generall evill custome in Sermon hearers, who oftentimes make use of the directions and reproofs received from the mouth of Gods Ministers, to prescribe unto, and censure others, rather then apply them to their own soules. Let me crave leave to intimate that I have nothing to doe at present with small or great, but only with every soule within these walls, which heare me this day."

Yet it was essential to deal in a general way with that crucial question then agitating all minds, Passive Obedience. He points out clearly that "obedience to God and man differ both in the ground and foundation;" that while the powers that be are ordained of God, yet man had power to choose between good and evil. Magistrates, God's deputies, might misuse their power, administering the law in such a manner that the laws of man might clash with the laws of God. Magistrates by their commission were limited as to the territory they ruled and the circumstances of persons, times and places. It was outside the bounds of their commission to deal with spiritual affairs. Their task was the preservation of order "for direction and correction", but to set rules of duty in the worship of God, or service to man and sobriety to one's self "belongs to God alone". They had to deal with the outward man, "the spirit is God's peculiar."³ Within their spheres they were placed and advanced by God, their eminency was answerable and the

³ "Peculiar" is used in the technical sense of jurisdiction.

duties of obedience were laid down in His Word. As God's Vicegerents, disrespect to them was also disrespect to Him.

A time might come when each person was forced to make a choice, then "whether it be meet to obey God or man Judge yee . . . When it is doubtful whether the Command of authority conduce to publike peace or no, then a man is bound to guide his opinion by the Judgment of those that give the Command, against his own Conjectures, unless they be groundd upon very pregnant evidences . . . When obedience to the will of God dischargeth man from performing the will of the ruler, then it binds him to a modest and respectfull refusall, which may testifie his reservation of due regard to the power that Commands, where he cannot allow the Commandment itself. Secondly, a quiet submission to whatsoever authority layes on him, although for his just refusall⁴ . . . Seeing God Injoynes obedience in doing the Rulers will in all things, *wherein he gives not a discharge by a Countermand of his owne*. Let every man advisedly consider whether his discharge from doing be as cleere and evident as his charge is to [do] that which is required, doubt in this case is no sufficient plea."

Regarding Magistrates, he says, "Let us well reverence them in the Closet, as bow to them in the Congregation . . . speake as well of them behind their back as to their faces." When there is misgovernance, reformation should be prayed for, actions that provoke jealousies should be avoided; encouragement and countenance of rebellious spirits occasioned scandal to religion, but there are times when a suppression of personal wrongs may result in injury to the State, the welfare of which should be considered the most important.

Next he dealt with a matter, touching as it did so many so closely and in such different ways, which required careful handling—the supply of maintenance to the Ruler "seems to be appendant to their honours and dignities, whether it be Gods portion, as Minis-

⁴Sibthorpe had preached that subjects must obey even if the King's commands were against God's laws, and they were bound to undergo the punishment inflicted for disobedience without resisting, railing or reviling.

ters Tiths are, and therefore to be received by such as have authority, as his due, I will not dispute . . . This is our Controversie, that the duty of supporting Gouvernours by a supply of maintenance, proportionable to their places and dignities, is built upon a double foundation. The first is Justice and Equity . . . The second . . . is necessity, seeing neither the Majesty of the rulers place, nor his ability to support the publicke [expense?] can possibly stand to be upheld without such a supply from the body of the State."

Then he touched upon the subject which so greatly occupied his fellow-townsmen. He pointed out that a man is not denied liberty "out of zeal and affection to publicke good, within the respective limits of his place, modestly to plead his own and the publicke right . . . so he Infringe not publicke peace or deny or withhold due respects and undoubted duties to authority." Further "it is unjustifiable to mix carnal affection, even with Godly zeal, in such commendable endeavours, which sometimes are carried beyond the bounds of Christianity and moderation", but above all White abhorred the hypocrisy of those who, pretending the zeal of godly patriots feed their own turbulent spirits by factious opposition. "I cannot acquit some of our Merchants, who taking advantage of the Contestation concerning the payment of Custom, under the pretext of Joyning in the maintaining and preserving of State Liberties, notwithstanding follow the ways of their owne private gaine . . . I had forborne to touch upon this Instance but that Religion suffers by this meanes, and we particularly and above all men that are Ministers of the Gospell, as being conceived to be abettors or Connivers at their Courses . . . Concerning their wayes therefore (without undertaking to set out the bounds of right between Prince and State, which neither my Calling nor Commission warrant) let me crave leave to speake as much in this publicke and solemn auditory, as I have whispered into some private eares, and delivered in part more than once in this place. I say then, and have always thought that this Course of shifting away Custome by secret and by Conveyance (which is the way that many use) is unwarrantable

and mixed with much Injustice and that in two respects. First, the manner of this Conveyance which is by Cunning and secret Interverting of that which they make show of satisfying and allowing (which they are forced also to blanch over many times with manifest untruths at least to say no more) Cannot be maintained to be Just and Equall . . . Secondly, the Conversion of the summes of money (which Merchants under the stile of Custome allow themselves and demand of such as they trade withall) unto their private gaine is as little or less Justifiable as is evident. For if Custome be due at all, then must they be the Princes due to whom they were originally Intended and consequently they neither can nor ought to be withheld from him by whomsoever they be paid and received . . . If Customs be not due then are they unjustly cast up in the account of our Charges, demanded in the prices of our wares and required and received of such as buy them of us. Surely the valuing of our wares in the sale of them, according to the Charge of paying custom, and the pursing up unto ourselves that which is so gained, cannot but be acknowledged to be the wronging of the Prince or State, Let men choose which they please. An injury in itself and yet made worse by colouring it over with the pretext of standing for the liberty of the State."

After this digression he reminded the Magistrates of their obligations to the people, giving reasons why, in justice and equity, all payments due to the Sovereign should be made by the people, yet they had responsibilities themselves, "only I referre it to your private meditations to consider at your leasure that if God set Magistrates upon their Thrones, it is not in the power of men to plucke them downe at their pleasure. Therefore that he can be no better than Antichrist, whose character is to lift up himselfe above all that is called God, that spurnes off the Crownes of Princes with his feete, which God hath set upon their heads, with his owne hand. Secondly, if Gods word bee a Commission by which Magistrates hold their places, it concerns them both to Rule according to the directions of that word, and besides to countenance, advance and propagate, the Sacred Ordinances of God, by which they set up

their Thrones, weare their Crownes, and Injoy their Honours in peace, and with assurance; without suppressing wherof that man of sinne could never have so farre advanced his usurped power, trampled upon the Scepters of Princes, bestowed their Kingdomes and Diminions at his pleasure, discharged his Subjects of their oaths and allegiance to their owne Lords, and armed them with sundry sorts of Instruments of death to shed their Sacred Bloud.”⁵

This peroration against the Pope must have received the approbation of his hearers, who, as he had taught them, made a “recordation” of his sermon, but doubtless many a heated discussion arose over the exact meaning his words were intended to convey. The Dorchester and Weymouth men, intent on the local dispute, while they noted his arguments on obedience to the Higher Powers, would have dwelt more upon his reference, more or less direct, to the Customs case, with his personal disavowal of encouraging either party to offend against the laws of God or man. Had he not addressed only those within the four walls of the Church? Were they not aware of his purpose to deal with the subject in the ordinary course of his catechizing? Did not some know that he resented the groundless and foul slanders of men who charged him with secret encouragement and even open justification of the fraudulent and indirect courses of persons concerned in this case, even of his protestation made later to the Judges, that though, not regardless nor too solicitous of his personal honour, it was his character as a Minister of the Gospel that he desired to clear?

Yet others, seeing references to the burning questions of the day, interpreted his words according to their own predilections; among them a certain “W. P.” of royalist proclivities maintained that contrary to their expectations they had heard from the noted Puritan preacher the principle of Passive Obedience forcibly expounded—the Powers that be are ordained of God, they must be obeyed.⁶

⁵ A printed note in the margin near the end draws attention to the fact that the rulers are set upon their thrones by the word of God, “Then not by the People by Master White his owne confession.” These quotations are from the copy of the Sermon in the British Museum. [*Tract* E. 469 (6)]

⁶ White pointed out particularly that lack of time alone prevented him from

The King was supreme, his Divine Right had scriptural authority, taxes must be paid, the preacher had as much as disclaimed the doings of the members of Parliament; eagerly they quoted all that upheld the King's rights, oblivious of the qualifying passages relating to the duties of Magistrates and to the evil counsellors who, by diverting the course of Justice, might bring affairs to such a pass that obedience to the King might conflict with obedience to the Higher Power—a situation which required careful consideration.

Others protested vehemently that he was upholding neither the Puritan cause, the borough members, nor his fellow-ministers, many of whom held that the reformation of the Church could only be accomplished through pressure upon the King, brought about by resistance to his unjustifiable course. The more friendly, fastening upon the qualifying phrases, would have declared that more had been read into the sermon than the words warranted; they would have emphasized his disavowal of any attempt "to set out the bounds of right between Prince and State, which neither my Calling nor Commission warrant." In truth, they urged, it was not a political sermon in any sense and the subject of obedience had been chosen particularly for its bearing upon the local case, which, with his known patriarchal influence over his parishioners, was what might have been expected.

As the extremists of both parties found in the sermon what they wanted to find, it may be concluded that the preacher had dealt impartially with his subject.

Echoes of these violent disputes must have penetrated to his quiet study, where he was engaged in polishing his sermon, which the Judges, according to custom, requested him to publish. To make his position more clear he described in an introductory letter the circumstances which led him to choose the subject of obedience to authority. Having long entertained the intention to preach thereon,

dealing as fully with the Magistrates' duties as he had dealt with those of subjects, which "may breede in Governours minds a large expectation of reverence from subjects and a slight regard to their own Correspondence to oblige."

he believed God's hand had quickened him to use this occasion, though he was constrained to confine his discourse within an hour's space instead of elaborating it into a treatise. He dwelt upon the Customs case, treating it in a "by-passage"; some might wonder that he discovered his judgment thereon, but they should understand "that the groundlesse and foule slanders of shamelesse men who amongst others have charged my selfe in particular, not only with secret encouragements, but with open Justifications, of all the fraudulent and Indirect Courses that are used in those affaires, Inforced me to a necessary clearing of mine owne Innocency," so he decided to take advantage of the opportunity to state the truth publicly, in the presence of a thousand of his own people who, having heard it more than once from his own mouth, might testify to the "consonancy of my apology." Of the censures of the doctrine, of the form of delivery, of the style of speech and the manner of application, as well as of his own person and his scope and intention "I am neither altogether regardlesse nor too much solicitous." No human respect guided him in the choice of his argument, its deductions, its form of expression or its application, so "I see no reason why I should Judge of mine owne worke altogether according to the Censures and opinions of men, whom if I should study to please, then can I not account my selfe the Servant of Christ, before whom in the singlenesse of my heart, having poured out the thoughts of my soule, I leave him to pleade my Apologie before all mens Consciences; in the faithfull performance of this service in this worke wherein how farre I have trode under foote all selfe respects, other then such as concerns me as a Minister of the Gospel, I appeale to his Judgement, who knows the secrets of all hearts." He concludes with hearty prayers for all the magistrates, that "when you have in the feare of God ruled over men on earth, you may receive Crownes and Sceptres and Kingdomes that cannot bee shaken hereafter in the highest Heavens."

Although he had thus clearly explained his position and discounted adverse judgments, he was still reluctant to print a sermon likely to rouse a bitter controversy, so he naturally sought advice

as to the best course to pursue. An anonymous Roman Catholic of the eighteenth century recorded the tradition that White took the manuscript to London with the intention of printing it, "but there advising with Dr. Sibs and the other Presbyterian ministers that sate at London as a committee for carrying on their cause, he was persuaded not to print it."

Aware of the delicacy of the political situation, his advisers were indeed wise—they could perceive how easily White's nicely balanced sentences, by twisting a phrase here, omitting a line there and ignoring qualifying terms, might be used to injure their cause; following their suggestion, White laid aside the manuscript with other sermons in his study at Dorchester.

But Fate did not agree. When a decade later, as will be seen, that study was rifled by Royalists and his papers scattered, many, probably including this, fell into the hands of a minister holding their opinions, one Roger Clarke, who had his own grudge against the Patriarch. Through some channel this sermon passed to an enemy who, under the initials "W. P.", published it shortly after White had returned to Dorchester to spend his latter days in such peace as the times allowed. In front of his own explanatory letter was placed another purporting to have been written from "Dorchester, 14th December, 1647," signed "W. P.", and addressed "To Mr. G. S. at the Sign of the——, in Watling Street, London." It begins:—

"At your last being in Dorchester, you seemed to receive some addition of Confirmation of the Justice of the Parliaments cause in taking up Armes against the King, from some discourse which you heard from Mr. White. But I then told you that Mr. White not many years since was cleare of another Judgement, not only in this point of Resistance, or more properly making War, but almost in the whole matter Controverted between the King and the two Houses, And that some of us who were his dayly hearers were much scandalized to see his late practise and Preaching to move Antipodes to his former Doctrine, especially recommending and pressing things so point blanck opposite, on the consciences of

his Auditors, as no lesse then the truths of Jesus Christ, and necessary in respect of our Obedience: This I told you I could make good unto you in foure particulars, First, in the point of the Subjects taking up Armes against their Sovereign, Secondly in that of Episcopacy, Thirdly, concerning the book of Common Prayer, and lastly, touching the Ceremonies of the Church: But your haste in going for Exeter Faire, and your many businesses with your other Chapmen, would not dispense with you to stay the making good of my Allegations: And therefore it was your earnest desire, That at better Leasure I would in writing give you such satisfaction as might leave you without all scruples in these particulars, which I shall now endeavour to doe as briefly as I can."

For taking up arms against the King he appeals to the attached Assize Sermon with its introductory letter; concerning this he writes:—"I would not trust to the fidelity of my Apprentices Brachiographi who tooke this sermon from the Pulpit, when he preached it: for so [great] the necessity for keeping pace with the Speaker. The easy mistake of those Characters, and the supplements of Memory used by those that are Masters of that Art, might render this Copy suspected: But to take away all Objections, I procured a more Authentic Copy from his own Originall. I say no more but as our Old Schoolemaster Mr. Chick was wont to say, *Res ipsa loquitur*: Out of his owne Mouth you may Judge of him." For the authority of bishops, their calling, if not *jure divino* yet *jure apostolico*, and their orders sanctioned as much as the Observation of the Lord's Day, was to be found in another sermon;⁷ while in a third was a vindication of the Liturgy "from the usual cavils of Sectaries, and by impregnable arguments preferring this set forme before all Extempory Conceptions especially for the Publicke worship of God. Nay, we that were his Parishioners, and daily hearers in the execution of his Parochiall exercises, must testifie, That he hath very frequently magnified the Booke of Common Prayer, justified it against all Objections, and affirmed, not only

⁷ This sermon may be the section on the "Observance of the Lord's Day" embodied in his *Way to the Tree of Life*. See below, Appendix II.

that it was consonant to the word of God, but likewise that if the Holy Ghost had vouchsafed his immediate Assistance in composing any booke since the Bible, it was in composing the Common-prayers of the Church of England. But though I have laboured it I cannot procure these Sermons. They were by Master White himselfe presented heretofore (as a Testimony of his Conformity) to Bishop Cook, late Bishop of Hereford, but then Bishop of Bristoll, and Master Whites Diocesan, whose Executors are able to produce these undoubted Testimonies both of their Authors (then) Orthodox Judgment, and the truth of my Assertion.

“Lastly, by his Approbation of the Ceremonies of the Church I shall appeale, First to his owne Practise in his Pastorall charge, not only in my time but in my Fathers, as you may remember he told you at my house; Secondly, to his frequent justification of them in the Pulpit; when you see Master Strong⁸ at Dunstons doe but aske him what he hath heard, and seen in this particular: Lastly to his serious Recommendation of Doctor Burges in his Defence of Bishop Morton’s Treatise of the Three Innocent Ceremonies⁹ to the Clergy of these parts, exhorting them to buy them: And though his meere Intimation of things to be done, or not to be done had more influence on his brethren of the Ministry then the Commands of their Bishop, yet to be sure to put one of those Bookes into the hands of every one of the clergy, he prevailed with Master Archdeacon Fitzherbert¹⁰ to recommend the Booke to those with whom he thought his own perswasion had not so effectual authority. I cannot have so meane an opinion of Master White that

⁸ In Whiteway’s *Diary*, f. 209, reference is made to Mr. Strong who preached against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the late Archbishop of York and had to resign his fellowship of Catherine Hall in consequence; he was afterwards appointed to Fordington Vicarage. This William Strong had been vicar of Long Crichel, Dorset, but fled before the Cavaliers; he became minister of St. Dunstan’s in the West and was also a member of the Assembly of Divines.

⁹ Dr. Burges’ *Answer to the Reply of the Anonymous Author to Dr. Morton’s book*, published in 1631.

¹⁰ Richard Fitz Herbert, of New College, was vicar of Gussage All Saints, 1621, Archdeacon of Dorset, 1621, and rector of Cheselborne, Dorset, until he was sequestered in 1645.

he should thus industriously recommend this Booke to others, meere-ly to helpe off an impression though Doctor Burges were his Wives Brother, mistake me not, I meane not your Paules Purgation Burges, no this Doctor John Burges Pastor of Sutton Coldfield in Warwick-shire was an honest man, and a Scholar. Things (God knowes) that Cornelius was never guilty of: But I believe he did recommend that Booke not out of any sinister or by-end but purposely to propagate those Truths which were learnedly defended in it; and because they were such Truths of which he himself stood fully convicted in his conscience, for had he but doubted of the lawfulness of those Ceremonies he was better acquainted with the regulations of a scrupulous Conscience then to recommend that to the practise of others whose lawfulness He himself doubted. But I detain you too long, Reade this Sermon and then judge of the truth of my Affirmation of the rest, by what satisfaction you receive of this Particular from

your Friend and Servant

W. P.”

To guide his friend to the points confirming his assertions W. P. erected sign posts of hands in the margin to indicate the appropriate passages, taking them, as it were, from the context, distracting attention from the qualifying statements, and thus giving to the whole a twist towards pure Royalist sentiments which was unwarranted. He omitted to note the particularly important caveat that a time might come when the law of man was contrary to the law of God,—then, White lays it down clearly and distinctly, it behooved his hearers to weigh matters carefully and act judiciously: —“Let a man consider whether his discharge from doing be as cleere and evident as his charge is to [do] that which is required” until a direct countermand was found in the Scriptures the law of man should be obeyed.

In the very year White died this sermon was printed with this text on its title-page:—“My son feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change;” a more appro-

priate text would have been "Render unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and *unto God the things which be God's.*"

But W. P.'s nefarious scheme prospered—if not with "Mr. G. S." and some of the Dorchester folk, yet with a larger audience—for the anonymous writer already mentioned accepted and spread the tale with embellishments which, from their plausibility, may have found ready credence with strangers, though to any one familiar with White's character the suggestions would have seemed wide of the mark. After reference to the Assize Sermon as being violently for the King, he tells the story of the Puritans in London urging him not to print it and adds that one of the Judges meeting him said he had advised the King to make White a Bishop, whereupon he offered to print it and "to do other things; the Judge at last told him he was a Knave, and that he had only told him those things to try him; that it were fitting he were punished, etc., yet the sermon was printed against his will."¹¹ It is most improbable that either Richardson or Denham would have taken this line and still less that White would have laid himself open to such a charge; certainly he himself would have recognized the danger of publishing a sermon that was open to so many misinterpretations.

¹¹ *Rawlinson MS. 158, f. 176.*

CHAPTER XXIII

IN THE TOILS: THE RAIDED STUDY

[1635]

"The chief duty of the Court of High Commission was to visit, reform, redress, order and amend . . . all such errors, heresies, crimes, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, spiritual and ecclesiastical whatsoever."

BEFORE the preaching of the Assize Sermon White had come under suspicion of non-conformity. Bishop Laud already had a packet endorsed "Recpt. Junii 23, 1632. Nathaniel Bernard's petition against Mr. White of Dorchester."¹ It contained a curious document in execrable Latin, almost unintelligible, describing the petitioner's persecution by those around him, whom he terms schismatics. He had been the usher of the Free School at Dorchester until forced, according to his own account, to resign in 1632, and he was succeeded on 8th May of that year by White's nephew, Nathaniel Cooke.² Presumably this was the covering letter of a petition now lost, for it contains no direct reference to White. As far as is known, Bernard's communication had no ill effects

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I., 219, No. 8. Brook, *Puritans*, II. 400, after giving a full account of Nathaniel Bernard who was prosecuted in the High Commission for a prayer at St. Antholin's on 3rd May, 1629, and was again before that Court for a sermon preached at Cambridge on 6th May, 1632, adds that there was another minister of the same name who, during the Civil Wars, espoused the royal cause and preached a sermon, 'The Looking-glass for Rebellion', before the Parliament at Oxford in 1644. The date of the prosecution of the first-named, May, 1632, and the receipt of the petition of the second in June, 1632, probably caused Laud—in whose hands all the documents were—to confuse the namesakes.

² Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 173.

beyond increasing suspicion against the Patriarch. But by 1635 rumours came to the ears of the authorities that money was passing through the hands of White into those of Dr. Stoughton who was vehemently suspected of accumulating funds for some unauthorized scheme.

On 16th October, 1635, Sir John Lambe, Dean of Arches, wrote to the Archbishop that 300^{li} had come up out of Dorsetshire from Mr. White and Mr. Browne, being part of 700^{li}; this may, he thinks, discover some greater matter, concerning the "Treasure that is said to be here, kept for the Childrens' portion." He suggests that the letter brought to Dr. Stoughton by the grazier Hill [Phill?] with the 300^{li} may mention the other 400^{li} and more besides, and therefore Sir John wishes that the messenger sent to Dr. Stoughton may seal his study door until the Archbishop's directions are issued, and that the Dorsetshire messenger may make like search at Mr. White's and Mr. Browne's, "which of myself I dare not direct," but the latter should be sent off first for "if Dr. Stoughton be touched here present intelligence will be sent thither."³

Lambe probably enclosed in this letter the following statement:—

"That Nicholas Phill of Lydlindge ⁴ in the Countye of Dorsett being in the house of John Browne of fframpton in the same County Esq. (there beeing at the same tyme in the same house Mr. White and Mr. Benne twoe dyvins of Dorchester with other Clergymen) the s^d Mr. Browne requested the s^d Phill to deliuer to Dr. Stoughton of London 700^{li}, which was Children's portions (as Mr. Browne then said) sent part from Dorsetshire, and parte from Devonshire. That the s^d Phill (hauinge assumed to return 300^{lib} of the s^d summe) hath at severall disbursm^{ts} discharged the whole summe Dr. Stough-

³ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. CCC. 2.

⁴ Nicholas Phill, or fill, refused to pay Ship-money for land in Bagbeare in 1635. He was a commissary whose estates were sequestered in 1645. (Hutchins, *Dorset*, IV. p. 188); this sequestration was removed by the Dorset Standing Committee, 23rd Feb. 1647/8, but as he owed 100^{li} to Sir Thomas Austin, that amount was to be deducted. Robert Fill of Lidlinch was "disclaimed" at the Herald's Visitation at Dorchester, 1623.

tons receipt under his owne hand will testifie, which Charles Robson hath seene.⁵

“That the s^d Dr. Stoughton seemed at the first a stranger to the affaïre and made simple to sett his hand to the receipt; that Dr. Stoughtons brother writt it, and the Dr. in his study out of Phill’s sight subscribed unto it; that the D^r, or his Brother charged the s^d Phill to be carefull of the s^d D^rs hand because it was to be returned back againe to D^r Stoughton, the said Phill and one William Rummon will testifie.

“That the s^d Dr. Stoughton havinge seemed at the first straunge as afores^d at the 2^d or 3^d disbursm^t told the s^d Phill that he was to have receyved 900^{lib} and that at his return hoameward he would send a letter by him to Mr. White of Dorchester.

“That the s^d Phill and William Rummon his neighbour goeing to make deliuvry of a second pay^{mt}: by the way were acidentally espied, and called upon by Charles Robson Clerke, their friend and acquaintance there beinge Dr. Shepsey⁶ then present with him.

“That the s^d Phill then and there laying down a bagge of money said it was from Mr. Browne to a worthie man one Dr. Stoughton (and as the s^d Mr. Browne said) Children’s Portions.

“That hereupon the abovenamed Charlis Robson consideringe diuerse passages to him heard from credible persons and espiciallie rememberinge This one of those Tenne Vowes which the s^d Mr. White proposed some six or seven yeares since to his Communicantes: namely that they should liberally administer to the necessity of the afflicted Brethen att hoame or abroad as they should bee called upon by their godly wise Minister or to the like effect, did by and by say Dr. this is part of the Puritans Purse and coniectured this affaïre more to concerne M^r White then M^r Browne.

“That the s^d Phill and Rummon discoursinge the circumstances at large ioyned wth the s^d Robson in the vehemint suspicion thereof, and said that in their consciences they did believe it.

“That the s^d Phill beinge a day or twoe after the s^d discourse

⁵ Charles Robson, Vicar of Buckland Newton, Dorset, 1624.

⁶ ? Sibson.

with a kinsman of his, one Higden⁷ of Lyons Inn, addicted (as the s^d Phill conceives) to puritanisme, and tellinge him what had passed in the p^rsence of s^d Robson, the s^d Higden first wonderd why the s^d Robson should soe much trouble himself with the matter and then fell very fowle vpon the s^d Phill for twatlinge sayinge That there might be more in the consequences of this business then the s^d Phill knew of.”⁸

Dr. John Stoughton thus implicated with John White was Rector of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, London; he was an ardent Puritan deeply interested in the settlement of New England, his two brothers and his stepson emigrated and there was some talk of his joining them. The papers found in his study prove that he held “great correspondency with fugitive inconformable ministers beyond the seas” both in Holland and New England. In the latter country he was esteemed very worthy and learned and his assistance was sought in drawing up a scheme of Church government, a copy of which was found in his study.

A messenger, as Sir John Lambe desired, was sent to Dorchester with all speed; imagination can picture the consternation caused when he entered the study of the quiet, old Parsonage and proceeded to examine all the documents it contained, selecting those likely to incriminate White and Stoughton, or that might serve to elucidate the mystery of the “Treasure”. He took away at least seven papers, probably more, and hurried off the bewildered Rector to London, where, on 2nd November, less than a month after Sir John wrote, White had to undergo his first examination before the Court of High Commission.

Meanwhile Stoughton’s study in London had been raided successfully and there, among a multitude of other documents, was found a letter from John White which was used to incriminate our friend.⁹

⁷ Peter Higden of Somerset, born c. 1574, was a student of the Middle Temple in 1595. He may be the man mentioned.

⁸ *State Papers, Domestic*, 406, No. 97.

⁹ Letters from the following were found in Stoughton’s study:—a) from James Forbes, three, 1633–36, b) John Browne, 1634, c) Hester Powell, 1635,

White's examination, taken before Sir John Lambe, Dr. Gwynne and Dr. Aylett, gives a fair insight into the charges:— "Being shewn a letter bearing date at Dorchester y^e seaventh of Aprill 1635, thus endorsed and directed to y^e right Worpp^{le} my worthy friend Dr. Stoughton preacher of God's word in Aldermanbury, and subscribed thus, yo^{rs} in the L. John White, he acknowledgeth the said letter to be all his own handwriting & that the said direction and subscription is all this exam^{ts} owne handwriting also. And touching y^e contents thereof first saith that the C^l mentioned in the said letter to be given by Mrs. Pitt deceased by her will was bestowed, in manner following, viz^t. fifty pounds thereof was bestowed by Mr. Doctor Stoughton and y^e other fifty pounds was bestowed by him the examinant, as followeth viz^t thirty pounds thereof was by this exam^t sent to Mr. Patrickson of Wood Street London, merchant, by him to be conveyed to one Mr. Polewheelee, curate of Egrimont in Cumberland, (as he thinketh) and five pounds thereof was bestowed on one Mr. Bray some times usher of the free school of Dorchester & another five pounds thereof was delivr^d to a poor minister, whose name he knoweth not, that was commended by Mrs. Pitt her mother and ten pounds is yet in this exam^{ts} hands unbestowed, and touching y^e other 200^{li} also mentioned in the said letter he doth not know how it was disposed of nor yet who gave it, neither by whom it was left here & saith that he hath received divers other collections of money & collected in *Pious usus* the particular some or of whom he received them or how he disposed of them he cannot p^rsently call to mind but refereth himself to his notes or books. And being shewed a paper book in octavo with loose papers therein remaining with the Register, y^e booke beginning Robert Sharpe and ending Reeve 2^s 4^d besides five other

d) John White, 1635, e) Henry Whitfield 1634/5, f) Israel Stoughton, 1635, g) Thomas Wroth, 1635, h) Clement Cotton, 1635/6, i) James Cudworth, 1634, j) John Winthrop and John Wilson, k) Stephen Marshall; also l) a Form of Project for settling the profession of the Gospel of Christ in New England. m) Arguments tending to draw men from the Church of England. Except the letters of White and Marshall all are now at the Public Record Office.

loose papers, he saith the said book is his book of accompts and all his owne handwriting and y^e five several papers found loose in the said booke he saith they are notes of other men's Disbursements of money by them laid out for New England, w^{ch} moneys this respondent repaid unto them back againe and are not [?] of the Respondents handwriting Y^e Paper being endorsed 6th Schedule, the five upper Lynes thereof are the handwriting of other men and y^e Rest are this respondents owne handwriting and for y^e Rest of y^e Loose papers in the said booke he saith they are all his owne handwriting. And touching a noate in Writing containned in half a sheet of paper Left he saith one Written syde thereof containeth y^e purchase of y^e Impropriation of the Rectory of Seaton for the use of Ministers of Dorchester and y^e other written syde containeth certaine proiects or propositions of certaine covenants to be observed by hym and other y^e Ministers of Dorchester in their severall callings & course of Lief but that they were never putt in execution, only kept by this exam^t." ¹⁰ This statement bears White's signature.

Philippa, daughter of Matthew Pitt, of Crickett Malherbe, Somerset, bequeathed "unto Mr. Dr. Stoton of London, being late of Aller in the county of Somerset, and Mr. John White of Dorchester, ministers of the Word of God, to be disposed of by them to such good uses as they shall think fit, one hundred pounds."¹¹ Mr. Patrickson, merchant of Wood Street, London, acted as agent for Matthew Cradock and was otherwise active in New England affairs. The curate of Egremont, Benn's birthplace, was Theophilus Polwhele, at one time incumbent of Tiverton, later of Langton, Long Burton, Dorset, who became an ardent Independent and also married Benn's daughter.¹² He must have been one of those praised by Bishop Barnaby Potter, in his letter to the Mayor of Exeter,¹³

¹⁰ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I., 301. No. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Charles I. 290. No. 15.

¹² See *Dorset Standing Committee*, p. 544, and Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 618.

¹³ See above, p. 255.

as very grave and godly men, maintained "partly by the benevolence of Dorchester and Lyme."¹⁴ Bray, usher of the Free School, has escaped the notice of local historians. The poor minister recommended by Mrs. Pitt appears to have been Tristram Pavior of Langport, Somerset, afterwards of White Lackington.¹⁵ The note-book ending "Reeve 2^s 4^d" has not come to light, probably it contained Free School accounts as Gabriel Reeve was Master there.

Other documents found in White's study are scheduled as follows:—

1. The letter of Wa: Erle dat from Charborough 8 Aug. 1632 & directed to M^r Jo. White pr: at Dorchester. touching y^e man y^t styled himself (The K^s conformable Clerke) to oppose & hinder y^t hee might not succede M^r Walton at Seaton in Devonshire, &c/

Wa: Erle

2. The letter of Jo: Winther dat from Mashachasete 4 July 1632 & directed to M^r Jo: White touching y^e wages of Gallop & Dutche payd there by y^e s^d Winther & other y^e like buysinesse & hath noe thing of moment in it, saveing y^t hee writes of his hope to see & enioy M^r White there &c.

3. Two letters agreeing verbatim subscribed by John Rulye, sanz date & place, directed to M^r John White setting foorth y^e then miserie of y^e palatinate, & solliciting for a Contribution to relieve y^e poore brethren, &c.

4. The letter of N. Paul dat. from Batcombe 8 7^{ber} 1635 directed to Mr. Jo: White complayning of y^e Iniquity of y^e times & desiring y^e assistance of their most effectuall fervent multiplyed & wished prayers, concluding apostolically after y^t of S. Paul to y^e Thessaloñ, &c.

5. A note from Jo: Winthrop dat 4 July 1632 from Massachusetts in hol.

¹⁴ *Exeter Corporation Documents*, Letter No. 359.

¹⁵ See N. Powell's Letter, below.

to brother Downinge & by him to M^r John White or Dorchester for 12^{li} w^{ch} is for fishing Lines to bee sent him into new england.

6. fower schedules of Reckonings & I know not what to make of them, but I conceive them to bee memorandums of contribution moneys.

7. A schedule containyng y^e Articles of y^e Covenant whereinto y^e Br doe enter prout, &c.¹⁶

Some of these are mentioned in the examination. The circulars were issued by Rulye, who had been White's assistant, 1627-1631.¹⁷ N. Paul's or Powell's¹⁸ mention of Mr. Bernard of Batcombe shows White's acquaintance with the famous Richard Bernard. Winthrop's communications have been frequently printed,¹⁹ and Erle's letter²⁰ has been given above. The schedules of reckonings may have included two documents now in the Record Office.^{20a} The Articles of the Covenant may have been White's Ten Vows in some form which the ministers of Dorchester were to sign, though it was "never put into execution."²¹

It will be seen that almost every one of the documents mentioned has been found.

A piece of evidence, written later so not in the possession of the "inquisitors", supports their theory of the existence of the Puritan Purse. It appears that in Stoughton's study was a letter from John

¹⁶ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 310. No. 9.

¹⁷ In the copy of the Calendar in the Round Room at the Public Record Office an official has noted that this is among papers relating to Germany but it cannot now be traced. For Rulye [Rulizius] see above, p. 258.

¹⁸ *State Papers, etc.* 297, No. 27. He was Nicholas Powell of Ilminster and husband of Hester (Pitt) Powell mentioned above. For Bernard, see above, p. 21.

¹⁹ *State Papers, Colonial*, Chas. 16, No. 63.

²⁰ See above, p. 264.

^{20a} *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 310. Nos. 9 & 10.

²¹ It is not quite clear whether "only kept by this examinant" refers to the Vows or the retention of the paper.

White which has not been traced; in it he suggested that part of a legacy from Lady Barnardiston should be given to the fund for the "union of Protestant Churches," which was being collected by John Durie. The latter wrote to Sir Thomas Roe—his letter²² is the source of the above information—protesting that he had never asked for a contribution from that legacy and that Stoughton, long before the date of White's letter, knew of his pious work; had Stoughton sent him some of Lady Barnardiston's gift he would have considered it a special providence. The suggestion regarding the grant from the legacy is confirmed by Sir Nathaniel Brent's report of his Visitation of Essex in February–March, 1636/7; he says that Stephen Marshall of Finchingfield admitted that letters he had written were found in Dr. Stoughton's study; that Lady Barnardiston had given 200^{li} to be bestowed by his direction and that he had sent to "Mr. Dureaus" 150^{li} because it was said that he laboured "to make a pacification between the Calvinists and Lutherans."²³

There can be little doubt that funds for Pious Uses, known probably by convenient names, were passing through the hands of the two divines who were accused of "secret and sly practices against the well-settled government of the Church and State ecclesiastical," in the Court of High Commission; the chief duty of that Court was "to visit, reform, redress, order and amend . . . all such errors, heresies, crimes, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, spiritual and ecclesiastical whatsoever," and under its plenary powers²⁴ it was easy to harry all and sundry who held, or were supposed to hold, unorthodox opinions. It was no small matter to be entangled in its wide-flung net, but White escaped.

²² *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 302, No. 63.

²³ *Ibid.*, 351, No. 100.

²⁴ This Court was established in 1641. For its procedure see Bruce's Introduction to the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1635/6. When Lord Treasurer Burleigh, as early as 1584, protested that the clergy were forced to incriminate themselves, Whitgift replied, "Tis hard to get witnesses against the Puritans, because most of the Parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them." [Neal, *Puritans*, I. 247.]

On 10th November, he took his corporal oath to make true answers to the articles objected against him "so far forth as he knoweth, believeth and is bound by law;" Stoughton did the same two days later; thereafter their names appear together charged with the same offence. On 28th November, White petitioned that in regard to his long attendance, and as he had put in his answers, he might be licensed to depart and leave his proctor to represent him. But Mr. Ryves "alledged that the ^sd Mr White had not fully aunswered to diverse of the Articles, whereupon it was referred to any one of the Commis^{nrs} to consider thereof & vppon presenting of the said aunsweres in case they shalbe found defective Mr White was licenced to depart and appear by his Proctor giving bond in such cases usual."²⁵

Perhaps it was fortunate that White came before Dr. Thomas Ryves, the King's Advocate as well as advocate "for the office", as he was from Dorset, a Winchester man and at one time Fellow of New College; he was doubtless acquainted with this delinquent and was, perhaps, inclined to deal with him leniently.

Stoughton's case was considered more serious; his papers required further inspection, and on 28th January his answers were accounted defective and insufficient; on 4th February there was a further postponement as fresh evidence was obtained against him. On 12th May he was ordered to attend to hear the decision of the Court, which appears to have been sufficiently favourable to allow of his discharge; of penalties we know nothing.

It probably proved difficult to find that the funds had been used for any other than legitimate purposes, but if we are to believe John Rous Stoughton was really innocent concerning the charge that the money received from Dorset was a contribution to the Puritan Purse. Rous ²⁶ writes:— "In October [1635]

²⁵ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. Vols. 251 & 314; these are the only known books of Acts of the High Commission. The entries relating to White quoted here and below will be found on folios 285 to 316d of the first-named and folios 13 & 196 of the other.

²⁶ Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk.

Doctor Stoughton of Aldermanbury, in London, who had married Cudworth's widowe, of Emm[anuel College, Cambridge] & had the same living given by the Colledge in the West Country, from whence a carrier bringing some money for his wives children's portions,²⁷ he was traduced (as it seemeth) to be a favourer of New England and a collector of contributions for those ministers there, &c. so that a pursevant was sent to the carrier, and many halberd men for him, and his study was sealed up, &c. but within 2 or 3 dayes, re cognita, he returned with credit, in the earl of Holland's coach."²⁸

It is quite credible that White and Benn, hearing that the legacies of the Newburgh children were to be sent to Stoughton, asked Mr. Browne of Frampton to include money for Pious Uses—even that they went so far as to take advantage of a possible confusion between "the Children's Portion" and the Puritan Purse.

²⁷ This seems to be confirmed by *Chancery Deposition* 412/12, Pelham v. Browne, where it is stated that "John Browne did undertake to pay [*inter alia*] to Dr. Stoughton 105li."

²⁸ *Diary of John Rous*, Camden Society, 1856, p. 79. He seems to have confused Stoughton's step-children. His first wife was the widow of Ralph Cudworth, Fellow of Emmanuel College, and Rector of Aller, Somerset, who died in 1624. After her death, in 1634, he married secondly Jane, daughter of John Browne of Frampton, Dorset, widow of Walter Newburgh, Rector of Symondsbury, Dorset.

CHAPTER XXIV

TROUBLOUS TIMES

[1641-1643]

"In Civill warrs 'twixt subjects and their King
There is no conquest got by conquering."

SIMPLE COBLER OF AGGAWAM.

THROUGHOUT England everything was moving rapidly towards that catastrophe—the Civil Wars. Feeling ran high in Dorset as elsewhere, the County was considered rebellious enough, but Dorchester was a very nest of schismatics, and its "rebellious spirit" was notorious—its ancient Roman walls were not sufficient to keep that within bounds and the country folk throughout the district became so permeated with it that the gentry found themselves unable to cope with the simmering discontent, yet were well aware that the veriest spark would set the train of gun-powder alight, and a match was soon applied.

To the famous Parliament that was opened on 13th April, 1640, Dorchester sent Denzil Holles and Dennis Bond, the former a member of White's congregation¹ and the latter "Patriarch White's own disciple, a man of double capacity to be a rebel."² This was quickly followed by the Long Parliament in which the Puritans obtained the ascendancy. On 12th November, 1640, Dr. Cornelius Burgess and Stephen Marshall preached and prayed before the House of Commons for seven hours, this being the first of

¹ Dedication by the younger White of *Three First Chapters of Genesis*.

² *Mercurius Civicus*, p. 31. [British Museum, E. 65 (32)]

those marvellous services that taxed the powers of endurance of the members. "The influence of Burgess and Marshall," writes Clarendon, "was greater with Parliament than Laud's had been, with the Court."³

On 18th December Laud was impeached of High Treason on the motion of Denzil Holles, and was removed to the Tower on 1st March following. Almost at the same moment Strafford fell, but in his case Holles, whose sister the Earl had married, sought to save him, but, report said, only on condition that he would use his great influence with the King to eliminate episcopacy from the Church.

Having disposed of Laud, Parliament took in hand the reformation of the Church on Puritan lines; the Moderate party seemed likely to be content with limiting the power of the Bishops rather than abolishing them, as may be inferred from the Ministers' Petition of 1640/1, with which White was concerned and, as a last effort at conciliation, the Lords appointed a "Committee to settle Religion", of which White was a member.

After this came the "Grand Remonstrance", and though the debate indicated a desire to compromise if certain safeguards relating to religious and constitutional affairs were granted, Charles, regardless of all moderating tendencies, proceeded to arrest the "five members". Parliament took refuge in the City and the King, fearing the fury of the mob, fled from Westminster. War was inevitable and both parties made ready.

This recapitulation should be sufficient to remind the reader of the course of events at this period and to indicate that some of them possessed a personal interest, as it were, for the people of Dorchester.

As early as November, 1641, Dorchester was on the alert—the Corporation agreed "in regard to these dangerous times, that there be window leaves made for the windows of the back parties of the shire hall;" a constant watch was to be kept within the town every night until further orders; one discreet person every Lord's day was to "watch on the Towre of Peter's and view the country round

³ *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 239.

about;" townsmen were to put their arms in readiness for the defence of the town. In the following January precautions were increased—a ward was to be set every Sabbath and fasting day, and the watch on the Tower was to be there both forenoon and afternoon. In June, after the episode at Kingston-upon-Hull, "in respect of the danger of the times there [shall] be a strict course taken to-morrow at the Fayre, for fear of incomers," and presently an account was taken of the stock of powder.⁴

Soon after conflicting orders reached the town; Parliament commanded the Mayor and Burgesses to raise "Voluntiers" and train them "for the suppression of all forceable attempts that should be made against the said Towne, and to hinder the surprisall of the Ordnance and Magazine there." About ten days later Sir Edward Lawrence, High Sheriff of Dorset, forbade them in the King's name to muster or train the town militia and commanded them to dismantle the fortifications already set up.⁵ Parliament promptly called Sir Edward to "accompt for his Affront and Contempt of his Majesty's Authority,"⁶ invested, of course, in themselves. A few days later the Mayor ordered that during the Assizes, to prevent any danger of surprise, watch and ward were to be kept and the town gates closed at 8 o'clock, and presently the gates were ordered to be guarded.⁷

About this time Sherborne Castle was invested, and Dorchester sent a contingent of soldiers, some said five hundred, others two thousand, to support the Parliamentarians under Bedford, while rumour ran that Hertford had only five hundred horses, "most of them base ones, as base as their masters."⁸

Dorchester was reported firm for the Parliament, all contributing towards the cause "save Mr. I. G.", but Sir Walter Erle and other Deputy Lieutenants complained of "the baseness of the

⁴ For these quotations see Mayo, *Municipal Records*, pp. 508, 509 & 678.

⁵ Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 45.

⁶ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 679.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 680.

⁸ Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 48.

gentry and the scandalous ministers who will do nothing therein, but have discharged the souldiers of the trained bands;"⁹ it was said that had not so many "very courageous and stout-hearted souldiers" marched out of Dorchester, including nearly all the young men, few of the people in the county would have gone to oppose Hertford's "great spirited little army". But the supineness of the country gentlemen of Royalist proclivities, by which Erle and his coadjutors profited, was loudly denounced by Clarendon, who bitterly lamented the death of Richard Rogers of Bryanston; had he lived the county would have rallied for the King but the surviving gentry, "how well affected so ever," proved so "unactive"¹⁰ that they allowed sedition to spread from Dorchester, that "Magazine whence the other places were supplied with principles of Rebellion."¹¹

When danger approached, the citizens were active in preparing for the defence of the Borough. In 1643 two companies of eighty men each were to be raised, as many as possible to be musketeers. Captain Joseph Paty commanded one, Josiah Terry, probably the nephew of White, was made Lieutenant and John White, Ensign—either the Patriarch's son or nephew. Captain John Seward commanded the other company. Enlistment was fairly rapid and contributions towards their expenses flowed in; two hundred and thirty men were found fit for watch and ward; keyers of the gates were appointed, fortifications were set in hand, almost daily fresh orders were issued for strengthening the defences,¹² two men now watched from the church tower, guards on the Sabbath and fast days were increased, and Sir Walter Erle was appointed Governor of the town. The situation was serious between 27th May and 1st June as there is record of extraordinary danger at that time.¹³

On 3rd June, 1643, Erle reported to Speaker Lenthall that he

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII. [1717 ed. p. 275.]

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

¹² Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 682.

¹³ Hutchins, *Dorset*, II. p. 343.

had seen and convinced General Waller that, unless he came speedily with succours, not only Dorchester but the whole county would be lost. Yet Waller had been persuaded to set off to besiege Worcester. The Royalist forces under Hertford, much increased in strength, had now reached Blandford, only twelve miles distant.

Dorchester was greatly startled by this news as the town was the headquarters of the Parliamentarians in the county, and men of judgment considered it untenable; moreover, they lacked the force to man the slender works existing.¹⁴ In fact, Clarendon writes that "one Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in those parts, and of a good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester on his way to London, and being desired by the Magistrates to view their works and fortifications, and to give his judgment of them: after he had walked about them, he told them "that those works might keep out the Cavaliers about half an hour," and warned them "that the King's soldiers thought nothing of running up walls twenty foot high, and that no works could keep them out."¹⁵

However, it was decided to defend them as best they could and, with the help of the countryside, they put themselves into a reasonably good posture. The soldiers manifested much courage and resolution and the Magistrates and Officers made a solemn protestation to live and die in their defence. On hearing of the approach from Cornwall of the Royalist forces under Hopton, their apprehensions were increased as they anticipated that the two forces might join and sit down before the town, so they were fain to take new counsel to meet the emergency. Between hopes raised by rumours of the advance of reinforcements for their aid and fears of the enemy's increased strength by the help of the *Posse Comitatus*, they were greatly distracted, and Erle feared that he "might be cast upon impossibilities if help be not afforded."¹⁶ Yet at this

¹⁴ *Welbeck MSS., Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.* p. 710.

¹⁵ *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII. [1717 ed. p. 334.] Mr. Moule states that 19,000*li* were spent in strengthening the fortifications of Dorchester in 1642 and 1643. [*Old Dorset*, p. 195]

¹⁶ *Welbeck MSS.* quoted above.

trying and dangerous moment Erle undertook to reduce Corfe Castle, leaving the Dorcestrians to shift for themselves, who, believing their defences inadequate, were terrified. It therefore happened that when, on 3rd August, Lord Carnarvon appeared with two thousand Horse and Dragoons, which the Dorchester people fancied were but the advance guard of the forces released by the fall of Bristol, they sought honourable terms of surrender, without striking a blow in defence of the town. At this crisis, "Old Watt", though twenty miles away, well-frightened, took to his heels—as Clarendon puts it, he made "more haste to convey himself to London, than Generals use to do who have the care and charge of others, [and] his Forces were presently dispersed."¹⁷ As a matter of fact, Erle fled as far as Southwyke Park, the seat of his son-in-law, Colonel Norton, who had inherited through his grandmother this ancestral home of John White.

The townsmen thus left to their own devices, sent forth Commissioners to treat with that high-principled nobleman, Lord Carnarvon, who received them graciously, so they begged him "to spare the lives of the soldiers and the inhabitants from plundering, with liberty for the soldiers to pass out of the town, leaving all their arms, &c."¹⁸ . . . which accordingly was condescended unto, the town being delivered up to his Lordship, who nobly performed his promises, which may teach all other garrisons of the rebels fairly to submit to His Majesty's Forces, lest by forcing them to an assault they lose both their lives and fortunes, if not a better thing. . . . Sir Walter Erle and Colonel Stroud had before took shipping and were gone (as 'tis credibly reported) on to France, leaving all

¹⁷ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII. p. 335. He asserts that Dorchester, that "Magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of rebellion," was strongly situated and might well have been defended had the courage of the people equalled their malice, "for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, England had not."

¹⁸ Walter Yonge, on 7th August, records the news that "Dorchester and Weymouth have given themselves up . . . to the Earl of Carnarvon, the gentry joining with him with 1000 horse" and states that Sir Walter was at Southampton with 100 horse. [*Add. MSS.* 18,778. f. 10.]

their garrisons to make their own compositions, Sir Walter having now leisure to perfect his observations with some new discoveries, the delivering up of Dorchester to His Majesty being by this time (in Sir Walter's judgment) a most horrible plot."¹⁹

In spite of these honourable Articles Dorchester suffered; Prince Maurice,²⁰ who presently joined forces with Carnarvon, lingered about Dorchester instead of following "the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole," so that his "soldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those Articles which had been made upon the surrender of the towns [i.e. Dorchester, Weymouth and Portland]; which the Earl of Carnarvon, who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the King before Gloucester; which published the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this licence which was much spoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the affections of those parts," or other reasons given, caused resentment, in any event, Lyme refused to capitulate at the Prince's summons.²¹ To the disregard of certain Articles of Surrender is attributed Sir Anthony Ashley's defection from the King—he was a Dorset man and one of the Royalists appointed to treat with the Dorchester men, so probably it was Prince Maurice's action that he resented.

Erle reported that the distractions of the town were great, the wealthiest men had removed their possessions, which made the poorer sort and soldiers much discontented, while the latter were mutinous for want of pay,²² so, on the Earl's "sudden and private" arrival, "Dorchester as suddenly yielded."

The capitulation occurred at a time of great depression among the Parliamentarians. During the summer Charles had been almost

¹⁹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, August 15th. [British Museum, E. 65 (13). p. 420.]

²⁰ Prince *Rupert* is usually said to have destroyed White's library, but it was Maurice.

²¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 335. ed. 1717.

²² Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 103.

invariably successful, within a couple of months he had regained nearly all the Southern district, and in July Parliament was contemplating surrender.

During the siege of Dorchester White's library was plundered by the Royalist soldiers—in 1643 “when the King's party was in great strength in the county of Dorset, they seized upon a great number of books, manuscripts of Divinity, evidences, writings and other goods of great value” belonging to Mr. John White, and some of these books and documents were given or sold by the soldiers to one Clarke, a minister, in arms against the Parliament.²³

This treatment of his library must have been felt very keenly by the Patriarch; he would have endorsed Fuller's words when in the same predicament:—“I am sadly sensible . . . what the loss of a Library (especially of manuscripts) is to a minister, whose books have passed into such hands which made riddance of many, but havoc of more,”²⁴ though it is less certain that he would have endorsed his neighbour's further remark:—“Whosoever hath plundered me of my books and papers, I freely forgive him; and desire he may fully understand and make good use thereof, wishing him more joy of them than he hath right to them.”²⁵ Dr. Featley's library, granted in recompense later, may have been a reasonable substitute for White's books; his manuscripts were a great loss to him, but an even greater one to his biographer. Yet when recapitulating the grounds his parishioners had for thankfulness, he makes no complaint of his personal deprivations:—“I know you cannot but be very sensible of that sad condition, into which you were lately reduced, when not onely you suffered the spoiling of your goods, but your very lives did hang in doubt before you, and you feared day and night having no assurance of your lives. . . . Though your estates were wasted your dwellings were preserved, that you might not bee like Sodome, or like unto Gomorrah, as some other

²³ *Chancery Bills and Answers*, Mitford, 314/118. This was Roger Clarke who joined Lord Hopton, see above p. 289.

²⁴ *Church History, Dedication*, Book V.

²⁵ *Meditation on the Times*, X. p. 56.

places are: as it was often threatned, and as often really intended by your enemies, and had questionles been accordingly executed, had not the Lord by his Power and Providence almost miraculously prevented it." Though their teachers had been driven into corners they were preserved and restored in safety and though "the losses which you have sustained in your outward Estates (which considering how long you were in the enemies hand, were lesse then most other Townes have felt) if you have suffered hurt thereby, you have none to blame but yourselves,"²⁶ their treasure should have been laid up in heaven.

On the whole, to judge from what he says, the town was fortunate, though incidents were not lacking to occupy and alarm them. On one occasion while the Royalists were in possession, towards the end of December, 1643, Captain Sydenham, who had put Weymouth in a state of defence, made a brilliant excursion into Dorchester with a hundred men and held it for an hour and a half; during which time he apprehended Captain William Churchill, the Deputy Governor of the town, and his lieutenant, Joseph Paty, both of whom he asserted had been very active against the Parliament and had compelled both the town and district to yield obedience "to the King's Cormorants." He broke open the gaol and released the Parliamentarians, who took themselves away with him. He "borrowed" of Robert Coker, goldsmith, such plate as he had and having accomplished his errand, departed to Wareham.²⁷

By the summer of 1644 Dorchester was again in the hands of the Parliamentarians for Essex reports, on 16th June, an engagement near Blandford between certain of his forces and 1500 Royalists, "who fled in precipitation to Dorchester, the inhabitants of which, being well affected to Parliament, kept them out," so they continued their flight to Sherborne.²⁸ Shortly after this, "the County" for at least twenty miles around Dorchester, was summoned to appear in that town and came in most freely; on "it

²⁶ *Way to the Tree of Life.*

²⁷ Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 120.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

being offered unto them, that any that desired a pass to Exeter, Bristol, or any other part of the King's quarters, should go together on the left hand, and should have their free passes, and all those that were convinced in their consciences of the justness of the cause of the Parliament's side, should go to the right or hold up their hands," every one "did so (not one desiring a pass to go to the enemy) holding up all their hands most cheerfully" after a sermon had been preached to them "by Master Peters, who hath done great service for the State both by sea and land, both in England, Ireland and Holland."²⁹ White must have been pleased to know that his old *confrère* had preached with such effect from his own pulpit.

In July Lord Inchiquin sent two hundred and forty horse and foot of the Royalist forces to Dorchester; these "faced" the town for several hours, but on the appearance of Colonel Sydenham from Weymouth they took to flight. A few months later, on 21st November, Sir Lewis Dives, who was holding Sherborne Castle for the King, made a dash to Dorchester and attacked the Parliamentarians with success; he returned to Sherborne "having increased his strength by the march;" but in another attack made in December, Dives was driven off by the redoubtable Sydenham. *Mercurius Aulicus*, under 29th March, 1645, gives a story of an encounter near Dorchester, where Cromwell then lay, between the Parliamentarians and a small force under Lord Goring; the latter successfully drove back his opponents into Dorchester, whence with the larger body of men at their command they dared not issue forth to meet his lordship again.³⁰ So the ding-dong of change went on to the discomfort of the Dorcestrians. The town records indicate some of their experiences. The stock of the Hospital Brewhouse "was almost quite lost and destroyed in the late wars by the violence of soldiers and bad debts;" two hundred and thirty quarters of malt by estimation were spent and spoiled by Goring's company at one time. The overseers of the poor of St. Peter's parish lent

²⁹ Vicars, *Gods Ark*, p. 100.

³⁰ For these details see H. J. Moule, *Old Dorset*, p. 198.

thirty pounds for victualling the town at the time of the siege but only twenty pounds were repaid "in regard that the fish, which was bought with the said money, was bestowed amongst the poor of the town after the surrender of this town to the King's party." A special rate was levied "towards the payment of the Innkeepers and Alehousekeepers for quartering the soldiers of Sir Thomas Fairefax."³¹ William Wilson, a stuff-weaver, claimed 80^{li} for quartering Sir Walter Erle's soldiers,³² and allowance was made "for quartering of the Ld. of Crawford's men,"³³ while other sums were allowed by Parliament for billeting. But, when everything is considered, the injury suffered was comparatively slight.

It is not certain that the Patriarch was in Dorchester at the time of the siege—most probably he was not; about a month earlier, 6th July, he attended the Assembly of Divines in London and again early in September. Possibly he made a brief visit by order of Parliament to the town not long after the surrender in order to urge his people to bestir themselves in those critical days; a plot, engineered by the poet, Edmund Waller, and his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Tomkins,³⁴ was suppressed, whereupon, on 25th June, it was ordered that to every man in London should be tendered an oath and covenant, abjuring the Papists and all their works and promising to uphold Parliament against all their plots. Many successfully evaded this oath, some taking time to consider it,³⁵ but the King's successes about this time so alarmed Parliament that on 17th August it was ordered to be strictly enforced upon those who had failed to take it. A week earlier, to strengthen their cause in the Associated Counties on the East Coast—their last stronghold,—they ordered that the "Divines of the Assembly that are

³¹ These references will be found in Mayo, *Municipal Records*, pp. 525, 685.

³² Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 323.

³³ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 687.

³⁴ Waller did not issue well from this plot; by payment of large sums impoverishing his estate and by special favour, he escaped after he and Tomkins had been lodged in the Tower. His companion was executed.

³⁵ *History of the Rebellion*, Book VIII. p. 393. For Fuller's evasion see Bailey, *Life of Fuller*, p. 257.

resiants of the Associated Counties and now attending the Assembly be desired to go down into their several counties to stir up the people to rise for their defence.”³⁶ And in other districts ardent Parliamentarians were busy imposing the same oath and covenant as ordered for London. *Mercurius Aulicus* on 12th August records that the “infamous Brownistical Governor of Southampton,” named Mudford, “sent up his Levite into the pulpit . . . to move the people to take the New Covenant, who . . . fell on cursing (praying they call it) [against the King] . . . and Saintberbe himself after he had taken the Covenant, said aloud before many witnesses, that he had rather see the kingdom in a flame, than that the King should prevail against the cause they had undertaken.” The writer adds that the prentices at Southampton who refused to take “this rebellious new Covenant” were lodged in a dungeon where they could not stand upright.

What happened at Southampton doubtless occurred elsewhere; White may have thought the order of 10th August applied to him as well, so betook himself to Dorchester and called upon his people to take this oath and covenant, for *Mercurius Aulicus*, under date of 26th August, reports that “By letters from Dorchester we were this morning advertised, how miserably the people thereabouts have been cozened, by their Patriarch Master White and (his sub-levites) Thompson and Benn, who from their pulpits assured the people that Mass was said openly at Oxford, that none but Papists were about his Majesty, that 20,000 Scots were already entered England, that they should not look in any book printed at Oxford, or published by His Majesty’s command, by which means they seduced almost all the town to take the covenant; assuring them most martyr-like that they would seal it with their blood; but (like men of their religion) left no other seal but the print of their fugitive heels.”³⁷

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that the Solemn League and Covenant, taken by the Commons and by the Assembly of Divines on 25th September, 1643, had hardly assumed its final

³⁶ See British Museum *Tract*, E. 65.

³⁷ See the news-letters in British Museum, 110 c 63.

shape at the time the letter-writer noted these events; it was not taken by the general public until October, so it must have been the earlier Covenant which was imposed at this time. The final sentence suggests that White and Benn returned to London immediately afterwards.

So the fortunes of war ebbed and flowed about the walls of the old town of Dorchester bringing strange mutations, many of which were viewed with sadness by the pastor when he returned.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CRISIS

[1641-1643]

"God Injoynes obedience in doing the Rulers will in all things wherein he gives not a discharge by a Countermand of his owne. Let every man advisedly Consider whether his discharge from doing be as cleere and evident as his charge is to do that which is required."

JOHN WHITE.

IN considering the political situation, we have advanced to 1643, but the ecclesiastical affairs of that period require attention.

Sudden conversions are the exception rather than the rule—even when they appear to take place without warning there has been usually a change of outlook, subconscious if not conscious, of slow and imperceptible growth—as the "Corn growes up, first into a blade, then to an ear, and at last comes to be ripe corn,"¹ but even before that is the preparation of the soil.

Unfortunately, due doubtless to the destruction of the contents of his study, there are no letters and diaries to help us to trace the development of White's mental growth. We have noted that while at the University, and for some time afterwards, his line of thought coincided with that of the Doctrinal Puritans,² that, like his brother-in-law, John Burges, he held the "three innocent ceremonies"—the surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Sacrament—as matters of external order imposed by authority,

¹ White, *On Genesis*, Book I. p. 16.

² See above, p. 20.

to be observed with a good conscience and not worth a man's life or livelihood to oppose. Much the same opinions were held by others of White's associates. "W. P.," who printed White's Assize Sermon, says that White encouraged the sale of Burges's book on Ceremonies, urged obedience to the King, and upheld the use of the Prayer Book—these views White no doubt held *up to a certain time*; but only an approximate date for a change in his opinions can be suggested. Until he preached that sermon in 1632/3 that change had not occurred. If in 1630 he was accused of preaching on predestination, he convinced his diocesan of his innocence. Almost at the same moment, in his remarks on Winthrop's departure, he expressed his opposition to all that savoured of Separation; even later, in his letters to Winthrop, he indicated his disapproval of the "New England Way." When brought before the High Commission it was apparently for aiding and abetting schismatics, and even then he cleared himself. For some considerable time after this there were no visible signs of a radical change of his opinions. Wood declares that as a moderate Puritan he "conformed to the ceremonies of the Church of England before, and when Archbishop Laud sat at the helm," and before the Rebellion broke out he kept the inhabitants of Dorchester "obedient to the Church," and places his alteration of views "at the beginning of the Long Parliament,"³ and the anonymous Roman Catholic writer, after quoting "W. P.'s" statement about the inspiration of the Book of Common Prayer, says that "after the rebellion broke out he declared himself."

But for some time before that White had been associating with men whose views diverged more and more widely from those of the moderate Puritans; embittered by persecution under Laud's rule they daily denounced, with ever-increasing vigour, the laws of the church as expounded by that bishop. Although men like Higginson and Winthrop on the eve of their departure protested their affection for the Church in terms that satisfied White, with more or less speed they developed an intensity of hatred of the Church of England and everything pertaining to it, increasing in bitter-

³ *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, III. 237.

ness in direct proportion to their distance from it. At home the advanced party became more vocal, uttering bitter complaints which at the moment seemed to White well-founded; therefore, from conviction, he moved with the times but with lagging footsteps, until he emerged into the light of publicity as a supporter of the advanced, but never of the extreme, party.

The anonymous Roman Catholic writer⁴ declares that, after preaching the sermon in March, 1632/3, White went to London and consulted with Dr. Sibs; as the latter's will was proved in July, 1635,⁵ the date "about 1633" may be taken as that at which he was closely associated with that rabid politico-religious band, the London Puritans. Stoughton was of this school, and it may have been then that White became interested in the "Puritan Purse", possibly a side issue of the St. Antholin Fund.⁶ His summons before the High Commission very likely increased his dislike of the existing régime. From that time onward he appears to have been drawn more and more into the new movement, but there is reason to think that sometimes his disapprobation led him to try to stem the tide and that often he used his undoubted influence to endeavour to keep it within bounds—more than that, as a moderate Puritan, somewhat inclined towards the Presbyterian section, he was a valuable asset to the latter party, as his restraint and restraining influence was recognized by their opponents, so that he was placed upon those several committees which sought for a stable compromise between the two extremes.

He may have made prolonged visits to London between 1634 and 1639, but there is evidence that he spent a considerable part of that period in Dorchester, but the abrupt termination of his weekly lectures on Zachary, recorded from 13th September, 1640, to 30th January, 1640/1, may indicate the date of his arrival in London for what proved a lengthy stay, during which he took active part in the great events of those times.

⁴ See above p. 293.

⁵ Fuller gives the date of Sibs' death as 1631. Clarke has this date in the heading of his account, but gives it correctly (1635) in the text.

⁶ See above p. 254.

What happened may be read in histories; we need deal only with matters with which White was closely concerned. When the Parliament which assembled in April, 1640, rose, Convocation, contrary to custom, remained sitting in order "to improve the present opportunity, in perfecting the new canons which they had begun."⁷ It was later converted into a "synod", and imposed upon itself and the clergy heavy subsidies for the King. "The unanimity of the convocation was perfect. . . . No convocation ever displayed more harmony, it is true; but the absence of the puritans is suspicious, and suggests a doubt as to the means by which this unanimity was accomplished. Either the convocation did not fairly represent the church, or the church had purged herself of all the puritans."⁸ It also imposed the "*et cetera* oath", so called because the clergy were obliged to swear "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of the church by archbishops, deans and archdeacons, *et cetera*, as it stands established, and as by right it ought to stand." Great anxiety was aroused as to what the "windy *et cetera*" might include; how might it be construed in the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission?

This was anxiously discussed in every parish and every parsonage, for "all such as were of any ecclesiastical dignity, all clergymen having benefices or cure of souls, were called upon to take the oath; and the penalty was, suspension for the first refusal, sequestration for the second and deprivation for the third; a month's deliberation being granted between each refusal."⁹ White was probably among the large number who refused. The London clergy petitioned the Privy Council against it, and the King, fortunately then at York away from Laud's influence, commanded the Archbishop "to dispense the oath entirely until another Convocation."¹⁰

After Laud's removal, Parliament undertook the reformation of the Church. The main body of Puritans at the outset were neither

⁷ Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 406.

⁸ Marsden, *Early Puritans*, p. 414.

⁹ Heylin, *Laud*, Bk. IV. p. 141.

¹⁰ Marsden, *Early Puritans*, p. 420.

hostile to the Episcopate as such, nor to the Prayer Book, however much they objected to Laud's Arminianism and innovations, tending, as they believed, to Popery. But there was a vigorous minority which became more and more bent upon a total abolition of both in order to bring the English Church into closer correspondence with the Foreign Churches.

The more moderate party prepared the famous "Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance," White taking an active part therein. This, presented in the name of seven hundred clergy, prayed "for the reformation of certain grievances in the Hierarchy, but not its entire subversion."¹¹ It embodied, it was said, a variety of petitions and contained "near fourscore heads," but the original text is lost. Its main divisions were "Touching matters of doctrine corrupted" and "Touching corruptions of matters of government of the Church."¹² The grievances concerning ceremonies, the Prayer Book, the many short-comings of the Bishops, etc., were set out at length.

On 23rd January, 1640/1, seven ministers, including John White, presented it to the House. The genuineness of the signatures was disputed and Lord Digby, in the debate on 2nd February, asserted that two important ministers, Drs. Cornelius Burgess and Calibute Downing, disavowed it. Thereupon D'Ewes moved "that the hands set to the petition were not written by the parties themselves, but taken out of several autographical or original petitions sent from each county: That some being entrusted to draw the said Remonstrance out of these several petitions; it was read in the presence of near upon an hundred ministers of which number I did verily believe those two Doctors were. And therefore I desired that this question might be asked of the two Doctors, whether they did not read or heard the said Remonstrance read before it was presented to the House." Incidentally it may be mentioned that Sir John Strangwaics said that "thirteen of fifteen ministers of Dorsetshire

¹¹ Neal, *Puritans*, II. p. 444.

¹² Shaw, *History of the English Church*, I. p. 24.

subscribed with reservations", but eventually he admitted that the names of these were not attached to the petition.

The seven ministers were then summoned, three of whom are named by D'Ewes, "Mr. White of Dorsetshire, Mr. Marshall of Essex and Mr. Calami of London." When asked whether the names subscribed to the petition were set unto it by the persons themselves, they explained that "they took the names out of several petitions sent up by several ministers subscribed by themselves," they agreed that they had heard the petition and Remonstrance read and would avow "all and every part of it jointly and severally."

Upon their withdrawal the supposed-dissident Doctors came in and confessed that they had so far given ground for Digby's charge that they had complained that the petition was too long and, as Burgess put it, "might abate the edge of the House." Downing "agreed with the judgment concerning the main design, but in his discretion concerning the contrivance of the work he did not agree, for that he thought it might have been couched closer, or in other expressions better. But it is hard for all men to agree in expressions." They both admitted they had heard the Petition and Remonstrance read "in a large room where there were about four-score ministers assembled." When further pressed as regards Digby's statement, they declared they had made reservations which he had not included.¹³

The Remonstrance was long debated; among those taking part were:— Hampden, Sir Walter Erle, Matthew Cradock, Samuel Vassall and Sir Harry Vane, all familiar names to us as associated with John White. With a reservation concerning Episcopacy, it was finally, in February, 1640/1, passed on to the Committee for Religion, where it was further discussed, Dr. Burgess acting as spokesman for the ministers.

This ended in the presentation, on 30th March, 1640/1, of a bill "for restraining Bishops and others of the Clergy in Holy

¹³ The above account is taken from D'Ewes' Diary. See Notestein edition, pp. 313, 314 and note.

Orders from intermeddling in secular affairs," known as the "Bishops' Bill," which passed the House but was thrown out by the Lords, because, according to some, the Bishops cast votes in their own favour, but Fuller claims that it would have been lost without these as the temporal Lords, while ready to exclude them from all secular offices, were not disposed to deprive them of their seats in the House.

The rejection of the Bishops' Bill left the ground free for the introduction of the "Root and Branch Bill," for the total abolition of episcopacy; it was during the debate on this that the extremists gained their prominent position.

Meanwhile White was occupied elsewhere. A "Committee for Innovations" was appointed by the Lords in March, 1640/1, to deal with the more limited questions of ceremonies and innovations; this was empowered to send for such learned men as they pleased, and the persons so assembled constituted what became known as the "Williams Committee" and White was among those appointed as members thereof.

Concerning this attempt to settle religion Laud, who had just been lodged in the Tower, wrote:— "This committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies and will call some divines to consider of the business . . . upon the whole matter, I believe this committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church. And what else may follow upon it, God knows."¹⁴

The Bishop of Lincoln's summons to the divines informed them that it was intended "to examine all innovations in doctrine or discipline introduced into the Church without law since the Reformation, and if their Lordships shall find it behoveful for the good of the Church and State, to examine after that the degrees and perfection of the Reformation itself," for the consideration of which they were exhorted to prepare their thoughts, studies and meditations.¹⁵

¹⁴ Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 415.

¹⁵ Shaw, *History of the English Church*, I. p. 67.

A copy of this letter would have been received by White and in the circumstances already mentioned it is not surprising to find that he was a constant attendant at the meetings. His Puritan colleagues were:— Cornelius Burgess, William Twisse, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy and Thomas Hill; for the rest the members represented the Episcopal party.

Fuller quaintly says of this conference:— “Jerusalem-chamber, in the dean of Westminster’s house, was the place of their meeting, (where they had solemn debates six several days,) always entertained at his table with such bountiful cheer as well became a bishop.¹⁶ But this we behold as the last course of all public episcopal treatments; whose guests may now even put up their knives, seeing soon after the voider was called for, which took away all bishops’ lands, and most of English hospitality.”¹⁷

Dr. Hacket states:— “The theological junto had six meetings in Westminster College, in all which time all passages of discourse were very friendly between part and part.”¹⁸

From a tract published in 1641,¹⁹ we learn that they discussed “Innovations in Doctrine” and “Innovations in Discipline”. Under the former were included:— Justification by Faith or by Works; private confession; whether the Absolution was simply declaratory; whether the Sacrament was a true Sacrifice upon, therefore, a true altar; prayers for the dead; conceived prayers; universal grace; original sin; and such dangerous doctrines as Arminianism, Socinianism, as well as the propriety of payment to the sovereign of moneys demanded not according to law. Those who supported many of these points in sermons are named, and “Dangerous Books” are mentioned—among them certain dealing with the reconciliation

¹⁶ Williams held the Deanery of Westminster *in commendam* with the Bishopric of Lincoln.

¹⁷ *Church History*, III. p. 415.

¹⁸ Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, ii. p. 147.

¹⁹ *A Copie of The proceedings of some worthy and learned Divines appointed by the Lords to meet the Bishop of Lincoln in Westminster Touching Innovations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church Together with considerations upon the Common Prayer Book, 1641.* B. M. Tract 1015 (9).

of Romanism and Protestantism, with Unitarianism and with the "universal salvation of those who accept the Covenant."

"Innovations in Discipline" covered such points as the position of the Altar and of the officiating clergyman; of the place where the Litany should be read; of kneeling at the Communion; the Liturgy; catechizing; "stinted prayers"; Lecturers; Latin services in Colleges; hymns and the erection of galleries. A Memorandum attached, possibly recording points upon which there was agreement, deals with services in Cathedrals and Collegiate Chapels, the duties of their staffs and music (hymns that were ditties by private men, not found in the Scriptures were not to be used.)

"Considerations on the Book of Common Prayer" touches on the expunging of some departed saints from the Kalendar; the omission or amendment of rubrics; hymns; the words of Consecration; the use of the Cross in Baptism; the times for marriages; the words of the Burial Service and the singing of Psalms.

A very large field was traversed—it probably comprised all the subjects mentioned in the Ministers' Petition. They discussed schemes for the government of the Church, and it is said that Archbishop Usher, a member of the Committee, prepared one likely to prove acceptable to all parties, but that matter had been placed in the hands of Dr. Williams himself though, according to Fuller, he was too much occupied with the affairs of State to complete it, "so easy," he adds, "it is for a great person never to be at leisure to do what he hath no great mind should be done."²⁰

It was generally believed that such favourable progress had been made that only the adjustment of details remained—a phrase altered, a line omitted, etc., so that a satisfactory conclusion was about to be reached. The concessions contemplated by the Episcopal party appear generous as is shown by a rare tract submitted to Parliament by a "Reverend and Learned Divine now in London." "The Spirit of God," he held, "is no more restricted by using a set form of prayer, than by set hymns and psalms in metre." Premeditated prayer, especially that sanctioned by authority, was best;

²⁰ *Church History*, III. p. 416.

the earliest churches had their liturgies and the English Service Book was superior to any of foreign churches; it had been "penned and allowed by learned doctors, who sealed the truth of the reformed religion with their blood," yet, withal, it had its blemishes and it was to be wished that these should be removed, "so as it can be done without much noise." He approved the omission of the Apochrypha and the substitution of King James's version, the use of "minister" for "priest," as less offensive and more like foreign churches; some phrases had surreptitiously crept in, *e.g.* after the Communion Service, the rubric "every parishioner shall communicate and also receive the sacraments and other rites," which "can carry no good sense to a Protestant's ear;" the Song of the Three Children might be replaced by something better; the words "who alone worketh great marvels" in the prayer for ministers, and certain homely phrases lacking in dignity might be expunged.

Scripture is quoted for the sanction of Episcopal government; the proper translation for the word given in Revelations as "angels" was "bishops", and, moreover, as they had existed for 1500 years, if a change were made, they must needs be eliminated even from Acts of Parliament. They might, however, be called upon to preach on certain occasions; the sanction of learned presbyters might be required before they ordained or suspended ministers, nor should they alone be permitted to excommunicate on the ground of scandalous sins only, but they should also obtain the consent of the delinquent's pastor. Benevolences, diets, undue fees, etc., should be abolished and bishops made subject to censure by provincial synods or by Convocation.²¹

Hacket says that many points were actually conceded to those who distasted certain things, the Episcopalians allowed "suspicions to pass for proofs, and any point of a dubious sense for a kind of

²¹ *Directions Propounded and humbly Presented to the High Court of Parliament Concerning the Book of Common Prayer and Episcopal Government, Written by a Reverend and Learned Divine now Resident in the city.* London, Printed for John Thomas, 1641. [*State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 487. No. 3.]

error;" passages in some books that their opponents considered not suiting the doctrine of our Church, they allowed to be condemned; certain ceremonies and outward forms might be "restrained". He declares:—"Their exceptions against our Liturgy were petty and stale, older than the Old Exchange, yet for their contentment, the vote of the Meeting did bend one way to castigate some phrases," to use King James's version in future, to dispunge the Apochrypha, etc. "The sudden and quiet dispatch of all that was done already was attributed to the Chairman's dexterity, who could play his prizes at all weapons, dally with crooked humours, and pluck them straight, bring all stragglers into his own pound, and never drive them in; foresee a tempest of contradiction the best that ever I knew, and scatter it before it could rise, and win all his adversaries insensibly into a compliance before they were aware. To this day they of the Non-conformists that survive, and were present, will tell you that they admired two things in him, in their phrase, his courtesy, and his cunning." Though "Peace came so near the birth" it proved abortive through the machinations of the extremists of either side so that the meeting was brought to a sudden conclusion.²²

"But what the issue of this conference concluded would have been", says Fuller, "is only known to Him who knew what the men of Keilah would do. . . . This consultation continued till the middle of May, and the weaving thereof was fairly forward on the loom, when *Atropos occat*, the bringing in the Bill against dean and chapters, root and branch, cut off all the threads, putting such a distance betwixt the foresaid divines that never their judgments, and scarce their persons, met after together."²³

While the Committee was seeking a *via media*, the Commons were fiercely debating the "Ministers' Remonstrance." The question of Deans and Chapters arose; some held that the abuses of the institution and the evil conduct of certain deans did not justify their abolition, but the suggestion that their possessions should be

²² *Scrinia Reserata*, II. pp. 146-147.

²³ *Church History*, III. p. 417.

otherwise applied met with considerable approval though some held it sacrilege to divert lands consecrated to pious uses to secular purposes. Certain deans desired to be heard in defense of their views, so a set debate took place before the House; Drs. Bargrave, Hacket, Ward and Brownrigg spoke for the Deans and Chapters; Cornelius Burgess, Stephen Marshall and John White on behalf of the signers of the Remonstrance.

Dr. Hacket's defence was devoted to the points that deans and chapters conduce (1) to the glory of God; (2) to the propagation of the Gospel; (3) to the advancement of piety and learning; (4) to the good of the Commonwealth. Shaw terms his argument remarkably timid as coming from the usually trenchant Hacket.²⁴

Dr. Burgess disputed these points, arguing the objectionable formality of the prayers and music, the paucity of preaching and that education could be better maintained by Grammar Schools, but he emphatically agreed that the patrimony of the Church was of a sacred character. "For sacrilege," reported D'Ewes, "he acknowledged that it ought not to be perverted, as the Casuists and Puritans hold, to civil uses,"²⁵ This statement was well remembered later and on it was based a charge of grave inconsistency when Burgess purchased lands of the Deans and Chapters both at Wells and at London;²⁶ these he was later compelled to disgorge. After his speech the divines withdrew and the House debated the matter.

The meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, as has been said, came to an untimely end, many points had been thoroughly discussed and several schemes of compromise agreeable to the moderates had been put forward, but the extremists on both sides were opposed to all accommodation, and attempts had been made to adjust matters between both Houses as well. On the rejection of the "Bishops'

²⁴ *History of the English Church*, I. p. 57.

²⁵ *Journals*, II. p. 556.

²⁶ "If, since, Dr. Burgess hath been a large purchaser of such lands to himself, if, since St. Andrew the first converted and St. Paul the last have met in his purse; I doubt not he can give sufficient reason for the same, both to himself and any other that shall question him therein." Fuller, *Church History*, III. p. 423. Wells was dedicated to St. Andrew.

Bill" the "Root and Branch Bill" followed, and all hope of a settlement was at an end; with a heavy heart White would have withdrawn from the turmoil.

We know nothing of his movements during the next two years. Anthony à Wood says that after his library was plundered, *i.e.* in August, 1643, he fled to London where he "was made minister of the Savoy parish and carried on the cause there."²⁷ He was already in London on 6th July, attending the Assembly of Divines, and the minister of the parish of St. Mary Savoy,²⁸ Dr. Featley, was also for a time a member of that Assembly, though soon after he was brought before the Committee for Plundered Ministers under suspicion of offences against the new régime. It is possible that White visited his friend, Thomas Fuller, at that time Lecturer to the Master and Brethren of the Savoy, and while Featley was imprisoned may have acted as Minister, but it was not until Featley refused to take the Covenant that his two livings were sequestered, and on 30th September, 1643, that of the Savoy was conferred upon John Bond²⁹ and Lambeth upon John White.

Dr. Featley's own account, in his "Gentle Lash,"³⁰ is that Lambeth was first designed for Mr. Patie, afterwards for Mr. Channel [Cheynell], and after for Mr. Foreby [Forbeach?] and last of all for Mr. White of Dorchester. He also asserts that "a substitute for Mr. White of Dorchester, who bears his character in his name, stretched his cheverel conscience [*i.e.* a flexible conscience like kid-leather] so far that to gratify some schismatical separatists at Lambeth,³¹ read a paper on the 9 of November last in the Parish Church of Lambeth on the Lord's day, in which D. F. is charged

²⁷ *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, III. p. 137.

²⁸ This parish consisted of part of the parish of St. Clement and of St. Mary-le Strand and of the Precinct of the Savoy.

²⁹ He was son of Dennis Bond and had been "educated in his youthful years under John White, commonly called the Patriarch of Dorchester . . . [and] sucked in most dangerous principles."—Wood, *Athenæ*, II. 115.

³⁰ *The Gentle Lash or the Vindication of Dr. Featley*, 1643, p. 28. British Museum, E 80 (4).

³¹ Were these some members of Lathrop's congregation?

with the Articles above mentioned formally *in terminis* (which were rejected by the House of Commons, as partly idle and frivolous, partly false and scandalous, and the D. cleared and acquitted of them all.)³²

The man with the "cheverel conscience" was doubtless John Cheverell, *alias* Sacheverel, a member of the Dorchester Company and rector of East Stoke in Dorset. It is comforting to find that it was someone acting in White's place and not the Patriarch himself who repeated the charges which had not been sustained against Featley.

As has been said, on 30th September the House gave Lambeth to "John White, Master of Arts, a reverent, godly, learned divine," who was "appointed to preach every Lord's day there; and to take care for the discharge of the Cure of that place, in all duties thereof; and to receive the profits thereof, until further order shall be taken."³³ Upon him afterwards was bestowed Dr. Featley's library until the Doctor "could get back our author's from the soldiers under Prince Rupert."³⁴

On 28th April, 1645, "the Church of Lambeth, lately become void, by the death of Daniel Featley, Doctor of Divinity, the charge whereof by order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, was in the lifetime of the said Doctor Featley committed to John White, Master of Arts, one of the Assessors of the Assembly of Divines; for causes in the said Order expressed;" the patronage of it "in the now vacancy of the See of Canterbury" belonging to the King, is "in the disposing of the Houses of Parliament," the Commons now ordered that John White be continued rector and incumbent and to receive the income therefrom.³⁵ Mr. Holles was appointed to take this resolution to the Lords, who agreed to it the next day.

The full possession of the Rectory came none too soon as White found his income inadequate, even with the addition of four shillings

³² *The Gentle Lash*, p. 28.

³³ *Commons Journals*, III. p. 270.

³⁴ Wood, *Athenæ*, II. 115.

³⁵ *Commons Journals*, IV. p. 125.

a day as a member of the Assembly of Divines, for at this time he was taking an active part in the proceedings of that body and we must now turn to the consideration of that Assembly and John White's connexion therewith.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES

[1643-1647]

"At present between Papism on the one hand and Brownism on the other, narrow is the way and few there be that do find it; to right good Protestantism . . . the only way of cure is by a Council, a Free, Learned, Grave, Religious Synod."

SIR EDWARD DEERING.

"**W**HENEVER divines meddle with political affairs, they become both the tool and the victims of diplomatic craft, and promote their own ruin."¹ Such was Hetherington's summary, or perhaps better, epitaph, on the Assembly of Divines.

For some time Parliament had been considering the establishment of a body of divines for the purpose of advising it as to the best form of church government that should be adopted.² In 1641 it was strongly urged by Deering,³ a favourer of "modified episcopacy," that "a well-chosen and well-tempered National Synod and God's Blessing thereon; this may cure us; without this (in my poor opinion) England is like to turn itself into a great Amsterdam;"

¹ *History of the Westminster Assembly*, p. 231.

² Cromwell declared, "We look on ministers as helpers, not lords over God's people.—[See W. J. Mackenzie, *James Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale*, p. 181.] In a draft ordinance it was declared to be summoned "only to advise Parliament on such points as they were asked to give their opinion on." [See *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report XIII. part i. p. 297.]

³ Deering, *Speeches*, p. 104. [British Museum, *Tracts*, E. 197.]

but not until 9th April, 1642, was it agreed to summon "godly and learned divines" speedily; two were to be nominated by the knights and burgesses of each English county, one from each Welsh county, two from each University and four from London on the selection of these a bill was introduced on 9th May.

The order with the names of the nominees appears to have been submitted to the King, who, on 16th May, issued "His Majesties Resolution concerning Religion and Government." Deeply impressed by manifold petitions, he, "the true maintainer of Religion," recognized that the popular will desired a general reformation, so he consented that the matter of difference should be discussed "by a number of grave, wise and religious Divines, which shall be thought fit by the House of Parliament, every county electing two for this so great and weighty a business . . . that God's true word, scanned and examined, . . . the truth may appear . . . and uniformity of government and worship may be settled in the Church." Desiring not to merit the name of a severe Prince, he had indulged the Catholics, but now perceives that "through one small hole have crept in many most dangerous and desperate evils, to the subverting of the general peace and disquieting of many weak and meanly instructed consciences." Appended are the names of one hundred and four divines "nominated by the knights and burgesses of each county for the Consultation, or Assembly," and the names of the Captains of the four city regiments as well.⁴ This list closely agrees with that carefully compiled by Mitchell, but he adds seventeen other divines as well as ten lords and twenty commoners as lay-assessors.⁵

The various alterations, perhaps including this large lay element, did not meet with the King's approval when the bill was finally

⁴ *His Majesties Resolution concerning the Establishment of Religion and Church Government*, British Museum, Tract 108. b. 37. The counties are given alphabetically, with their representatives, an advantage not found in later lists. The election by the counties should be noted as this point has been questioned.

⁵ Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. lxxiii. White's namesake the Counsellor, associated with him in the New England business, known as "Century White" from his publication of the *Century of Scandalous Ministers*, and a Member of Parliament, was one of the Lay-Assessors of the Assembly.

passed, so he forbade the attendance of the representatives of the Church party.

The ordinance summoning the Assembly, in which John White and Edward Peel appear as representatives of Dorset, was issued on 12th June, 1643, and the Assembly met on 1st July in Henry VII's Chapel. Dr. Twisse, then appointed prolocutor, preached to them.

Fuller remarks that the "appearance of persons elected answered not expectations, seeing of an hundred and twenty, but sixty-nine were present; and those in coats and cloaks of several forms and fashions; so that Dr. Westfield [Bishop of Bristol] and some few others seemed the only nonconformists amongst them for their conformity, whose gowns and canonical habits differed from all the rest."⁶ Mitchell points out that the Divines, by the very act of their attendance "put their livings if not their lives in jeopardy,"⁷ because the King had prohibited the meeting; his pronouncement that the Assembly was illegal and refusal to allow the Episcopalian party to attend led to the disappearance of the canonical habits soon after.

White, like many others, accounted this the long-desired opportunity to complete the Reformation of the Church; in 1645 he declared "it is as cleere as the light" that our work of a thorough reformation has been hindered "now neere twise 46 yeares." For although immediately after taking off the yoke of Rome "other things needful for the perfecting of the work, were either neglected or deferred; yet we must needs grant that the foundation of the Lords house was presently layd." But he was obliged to admit regretfully that "so farre have the Master-builders bin from bringing forth the head-stone of this Work, that they have rather laboured to undermine and demolish the foundation of the Doctrine already layd."⁸

The Puritans who had opposed Laud's innovations predomi-

⁶ *Church History*, III. p. 448.

⁷ *Minutes of the Westminster Assembly*, p. xxxiii.

⁸ *Troubles of Jerusalems Restauration*, pp. 2-5.

nated and for the most part desired to reform the ceremonies and government of the church, but they were committed to the abolition of episcopacy. Opinions on the composition of the body varied; Clarendon poured scorn upon them, Milton, for personal reasons, denounced them,⁹ Neal praised them but faintly. Henderson, one of the Scots Commissioners wrote:—"There be many godly, learned and wise men in this Assembly, and well affected to the government of the Reformed Churches. There is no danger from the Assembly for Prelacy."¹⁰ The "Dissenting Brethren" who fought for Independency, declared them "most judicious and severe,—an Assembly of so many able, learned and grave divines, where much of the piety, wisdom, and learning of two kingdoms are met in one, honoured and assisted with the presence of the worthies of both Houses."¹¹ Marshall addressed them as "a Reverend Assembly of grave and learned Divines, who daily wait upon the Angell in the Mount, to receive from him the lively oracles and the patterne of God's House to present unto you."¹² Baxter, not wholly in sympathy, wrote:—"The divines there congregate were men of eminent learning and godliness, and ministerial abilities and fidelity; and being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak that truth which I do know, even in the face of malice and envy, that as far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind and by any other evidence left us, the Christian world since the days of the apostles, had never a Synod of more excellent di-

⁹ "If the state were in this plight, religion was not much better; to reform which a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament thought fit, so elected one by one." [*Character of the Long Parliament & Assembly of Divines.*] He also alludes to the denunciation of pluralities by most of them and their scramble for profits themselves.

¹⁰ *Baillie, Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 483.

¹¹ *Apologetical Narrative*, p. 39.

¹² Sermon at Christ Church, London, 18th January, 1643/4. Addressing the congregation, he exclaimed "O beloved, how beautiful is the face of this Assembly!"

vines, (taking one thing with another) than this Synod and the Synod of Dort were.”¹³

The Assembly, whatever its ability or disability, set to work promptly. On 6th July two “assessors” were appointed to act as deputies in the Prolocutor’s absence, Cornelius Burgess and John White. Parliament had ordered the Assembly to consider the XXXIX Articles, so they divided themselves into three Committees, an arrangement maintained throughout, and White was placed upon the first, which met on 8th July in Henry VII’s Chapel under the chairmanship of Burgess, having been assigned the first four articles. White is recorded as present on 2nd November, 1643, 13th February, 1643/4 and 12th April, 1644.¹⁴

By the end of August the several Committees had reached the XVIth Article when their work was interrupted in order to consider the Solemn League and Covenant, propounded by the Scots. Efforts had been made by the Parliamentary Commissioners, Vane and Marshall, appointed for that purpose, to bring it more into accord with English sentiments, but, in order to obtain the Scots’ military assistance so urgently required, they had been forced to accept the point of Uniformity of the Churches of the two kingdoms with but slight concessions. The Scots expected Parliament to accept the Covenant without demur, but the House, for Englishmen were not yet accustomed to accept dictation from outsiders, referred it to the Assembly.

The Scots had pressed conformity to their form of doctrine,

¹³ *Life & Times*, part i. p. 73. Of modern writers, Gardiner calls them the flower of the Puritan clergy and Stoughton claims for them high scholarship. Some lines from a lampoon may be added here:—

Pretty Synod does it sit,
Voyd of grace as well as wyt—
From the Synod’s nonsense and their treason
And from their catechistick reason—
Good Heaven defend us.

This is quoted by Mitchell in a note on page xxxvii.

¹⁴ From the *Manuscript Minutes* preserved at Dr. Williams’ Library, London, hereafter referred to as “MS. Minutes.”

worship and discipline, but had allowed as amendments, the insertion of the words "according to the Word of God", and that the Church of England should be reformed "according to the same Holy Word and the example of the reformed Churches." Seeking a loophole, the Assembly questioned whether this meant that the doctrine, worship, &c. of the Scots Church were according to the Word of God, or whether the Covenant required these to be maintained only as far as they were in accord with the Word of God.

Dr. Burgess, in a debate on prelacy, by his method of presentation and implying a slur upon the Scots, greatly offended the Assembly, and in laying his case before Parliament he not only maintained his innuendo against the Scots, but accused some of the Assembly of desiring a free hand in regard to matters of Church Government.¹⁵ His subsequent disgrace and suspension left White for a brief period in the chair of the Assembly.

The Scots had been invited by Parliament to sit as members of the Assembly but, as Baillie reports, they wisely declined, claiming that, as sent by the National Assembly of Scotland to treat for Uniformity, they could only sit in the Assembly in their private capacity to give advice on points raised, but on the question of Uniformity a committee composed of representatives of Parliament and of the Assembly, must be appointed to treat with them. All which "after some harsh debates was granted."¹⁶ Whereupon, on 9th September, Parliament having selected its representatives, instructed the Assembly to appoint twelve of their body.

¹⁵ Lightfoot, *Works*, XIII. pp. 11, *et seq.* says Burgess was capitous and began to be most uncivil and unmannerly; the Assembly considered that his demands were "intolerable insolency that the affairs of two dying kingdoms should be thought fit by him to stay and wait upon his captiousness;" he styles him "our turbulent doctor;" "a wretch, that be branded to all posterity, who seems for some devilish ends, either his own or others, or both, to hinder so great a good of the two nations." Rev. A. Gordon in the *Dictionary of National Biography* gives a very laudatory account of Burgess, slurring over his many shortcomings, omitting grievous faults and giving him undue praise never accorded to him by his greatest contemporary champions.

¹⁶ *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 110.

The unpublished Minutes of the Assembly record the appointment two days later of nine to be a committee "or any five of them to meet with the Scotch Commissioners and to receive such papers from them as shall be directed unto them from the Assembly" of Scotland. The members were White—the first named—Nye, Calamy, Seaman, Goodwin, Temple, Smith and Hoyle, to whom next day were added Gouge, Vines and Palmer, and the "four or five" selected from these to deal particularly about the Covenant included White.¹⁷

On 14th September, White, acting as Chairman, "interposed something from the Scots Commissioners,—viz. 'That they desire to come to the Assembly to-morrow morning.'" After debate, it was decided that Mr. Prolocutor and the Assessors should prepare a speech for their entertainment. On the next day the Scots Commissioners arrived and the Covenant was read over, Mr. White giving some reasons for the alterations in it. Then Mr. Prolocutor made a speech, Mr. Hoyle, though not appointed, spoke, also Mr. Case. Mr. Henderson, one of the Scots, explained how sensible they were of their position. "Then did we fall upon the Covenant. Mr. White as we went along, did still explain and evidence the reasons of the alterations,"¹⁸ which the Scots took in evil part that any letter should be changed without their advice.¹⁹ Some points were discussed by Dr. Gouge but Mr. White gave him sufficient reasons and "the rest passed off with a great deal of consent and cheerfulness. After all was done, Mr. Prolocutor, at the desire of the Assembly, gave thanks to God, for the sweet concurrence of us in the Covenant,"²⁰ and the amended document was sent to the House, where, having been read, it "received a most full and universal assent from the members of both [the Assembly and the Commons] *Nemine contradicente*." The Lords also took it into con-

¹⁷ *MS. Minutes*. Nye, Calamy, Seaman and Hill were the first four chosen and White was added later in the day.

¹⁸ Lightfoot, *Works*, XIII. p. 13.

¹⁹ See Baillie, *Letters*, etc., ed. Laing, II. p. 102.

²⁰ Lightfoot, p. 15.

sideration and approved of it as fit to be taken by the three Kingdoms.²¹

The official account runs:—"On Friday, the 22 of September, it was concluded by the House this Oath and Covenant should be solemnly taken publikly in the Church at Westminster, called Saint Margarets Church, the Monday following, by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines. To which purpose an order was sent to the Assembly from the House to give them notice of so serious and weighty a service. The Assembly appointed Mr. Philip Nye to make the exhortation, Mr. John White to pray before, and Mr. Dr. Gouge to praye after the exhortation. The House met at the usual place, and thence went with their Speaker to the Church, the Assembly also at the same time with their Prolocutor. A Psalme being sung,²² a solemne prayer was made,²³ after the prayer an exhortation to the Honourable House and Reverend Divines encouraging them to this work as a work of a marvellous high nature and concernment.²⁴ This being ended Mr. Alexander Henderson, one of the Commissioners sent from Scotland, being also desired thereunto, made a speech to the like purpose.²⁵ Then the Covenant was read,²⁶ notice being first given to the Assembly, that after the hearing of it, each person should immediately by swearing, worship the great Name of God, and testify so much outwardly by lifting up of their hands; which was all done very solemnly and with so much joy seen in their countenances and manifested by the clapping of their hands as was suitable to the gravity of such a work, and the sadness of the present times.

²¹ The official account, quoted here and below, was compiled and printed by order. See below p. 446. The reference to the three kingdoms is a neat way of putting the cause of the delay by the Lords, who wished Ireland included.

²² Verses were "picked" for the occasion by Mr. Wilson, and were read—probably "lined" out—by him.

²³ The prayer was made by John White from the pulpit.

²⁴ Nye's exhortation dealt with Scripture Covenants, which he proved had been productive of good to the Church of God in all ages.

²⁵ He spoke from his pew, apparently without having been appointed to take part, but invited to do so at the time.

²⁶ Nye read the Covenant from the pulpit.

"Both Assemblies having thus sworn, with whom the Commissioners from Scotland joyned, the Speakers with the Members of the House of Commons went up into the Chancell, and there subscribed their names in a roll of parchment provided for that purpose, in which the Covenant was fairly written, and afterwards the Prolocutor, the Commissioners from Scotland and the Members of the Assembly did the like in another Roll, which being finished, the name of God was again invocated,²⁷ and praises returned for vouchsafing this Church and Kingdome so happy and joyful a day; a Psalm was sung, and then the Assembly dismissed."²⁸

The House had ordered "that Mr. White, Mr. Nye, Mr. Henderson, Dr. Gouge be desired to put the prayers and exhortations in print,"²⁹ and as White here heads the list it is probable that his ready pen prepared it; the phraseology is his and his own part is merely mentioned though no doubt he also judged it inappropriate to record the discourses addressed to the Almighty.

Walter Yonge, a member of Parliament, puts it from his point of view:—"The House met this morning and from there went into St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, where after a Psalm, Mr. White of Dorchester made a prayer, after the prayer Mr. Nye made an exhortation shewing the nature of a Covenant, when that was done Mr. Henderson made a speech, and, his speech ended, another read the Covenant from the pulpit, which being ended, the Parliament men, the ministers of the Assembly and the Scots Commissioners subscribed the same, and last of all Doctor Gouge concluded with prayer."³⁰

After the ceremony the Assembly returned to their usual meeting place, listened to another prayer and were then dismissed.

The Covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the country

²⁷ This prayer was by Dr. Gouge.

²⁸ *The Covenant with a Narrative of the Proceedings* and solemn manner of taking it by the Honourable House of Commons, and Reverend Assembly of Divines. [For full title see p. 446.]

²⁹ See Yonge's *Diary*, British Museum, Additional MSS. 18,778, f. 52.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

on 1st October "in convenient time appointed," and was no doubt taken then in Dorchester with White's approval. "The little house of Lords," Baillie says, "did delay, for sake of honour, as they said, till they fand our nation ready to swear it as then it was formed,"³¹ so took it on 16th October.

Marsden asserts that by this Covenant they "renounced forever for themselves and their children after them, the Church which reformers had established and martyrs sprinkled with their blood."³² By it the Assembly was committed to the Presbyterian form of Church Government, and "a rigorous conformity such as prelates had been unable to command, was bound upon their necks with the additional torment of an oath."³³

The appearance of the Assembly at this period is described by Baillie. "The like of that Assemblie I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere is shortlie lyke to be. They did sit in Henry the 7th's Chappell, in the place of the Convocation; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem chamber,³⁴ a fair roome in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the Colledge fore-hall, but wyder. At the one end nearest the doore, and both sydes are stages of seats . . . [with room] for five or six score. At the upmost end there is a chair set on ane frame, a foot from the earth, for Mr. Proloquutor Dr. Twisse. Before it on the ground stands two chairs for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. Whyte. Before these two chairs, through the length of the roome, stands a table, at which sitts the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung, and hes a good fyre, which is some dainties at London. Foranent the table, upon the Proloquutors right hand, there are three or four rankes of formes. On the lowest we five doe sit. Upon the

³¹ *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 102.

³² *Later Puritans*, p. 80.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³⁴ "And now what place more proper for the building of Sion, (as they propounded it,) than the chamber of Jerusalem, (the fairest in the dean's lodgings, where king Henry IV died, and) where these divines did daily meet together." Fuller, *Church History*, III, p. 449.

other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assemblie. On the formes foranent us, on the Proloquutors left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house, and backsyde of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of fourmes, where-upon their divines sitts as they please; albeit commonlie they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there is no seats, but a voyd passage. The Lords of Parliament uses to sit on chaires, in that voyd, about the fire. We meet every day of the week, but Saturday. We sitt commonlie from nine to one or two afternoon. The Proloquutor at the beginning and end hes a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he hes studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highlie esteemed; but merelie bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer, [and] among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer he sitts mute. It was the canny convoyance of these who guide most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chaire. The one assessour, our good friend Mr. Whyte, hes kepted in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharpe man, supplies, so far as is decent, the Proloquutors place. Ordinarilie there will be present above three-score of their divines.³⁵ These are divided in three Committees. . . . Every Committee, as the Parliament gives order in wryte to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion . . . setts down their minde in distinct propositions, backs their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the propositions and Scriptures, where-upon the Assemblie debates in a most grave and orderlie way . . . [A member] speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name they desyre to hear first. . . . They harangue long and learnedlie . . . I doe marvell at the very accurate and extemporall

³⁵ He omits one item mentioned by Selden, who jeered at the "little gilt Bibles" which each man carried about with him, insinuating that these were required in the vulgar tongue as they did not understand the original.

replies that many of them usuallie doe make . . . [The question is put by the Prolocutor and decided by the "I's and No's"] . . . When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will vaige,³⁶ he is quicklie taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedlie crying, Speak to order, to order. No man contradicts another expresslie by name, bot most discreetlie speaks to the Proloqutor, and at most holds on the generall The Reverend brother, who latlie or last spoke. . . . They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthie of our imitation; only their longfulnessse is wofull at this time, when their Church and Kingdome lyes under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new Plat-forme of worship and discipline to their Nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidlie, and at leisure, they do not examine every point thereof."³⁷

The debates of the Assembly, as so frequently is the case when matters of religion are discussed, were very often heated. A small but vociferous body of Independents, by "cunning contrivance," Baillie says, endeavoured to force the acceptance of their views upon an unwilling Assembly, while the Scots, he admits, worked by underhand means to thwart them; many wrangles wasted much time and sermons occupied many consecutive hours. The sweetest day Baillie enjoyed in England was when a fast was kept at Essex's request. That the Assembly might be humbled four ministers were appointed to preach and pray, "so we spent from nine to five very graciouslie. After Dr. Twisse had begun with a briefe prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed large two houres, most divinellie, confessing the sins of the Assemblie, in a wonderfullie pathetick, and prudent way. After, Mr. Arrowsmith preached one houre, then a psalme; there-after, Mr. Vines prayed near two houres, and Mr. Palmer preached

³⁶ vaige=voyage, travel from the subject.

³⁷ *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. pp. 107-9. Elsewhere Baillie exclaims, "Their way is wofully tedious. Nothing in any assembly that ever was in the world, except Trent, like to them in prolixity."

one houre, and Mr. Seaman prayed near two houres, then a psalme. After, Mr. Henderson brought them to a sweet conference of the heat [heart] confessed in the Assemblie, and other seen faults, to be remedied, and the conveniencie to preach against all sects, especiallie Anabaptists and Antinomians. Dr. Twisse closed with a short prayer and blessing.”³⁸

The Grand or Treaty Committee, of which White was a member, the House on 17th October made into a Standing Committee of both Houses with the Assembly in order to consider Church Uniformity, and the Assembly agreed that the same twelve members should act on their behalf.³⁹ This Committee met “once a week and whyles offer.” It stood behind the Assembly and prompted its debates.⁴⁰ But behind the Committee stood the Scots Commissioners and behind them the National Assembly of Scotland, which exercised its influence directly when their intermediaries failed.

The delay in adopting Uniformity according to the Covenant aggravated the Scots. In August, 1644, Henderson presented a “notably well-penned paper” to the Standing Committee, protesting against this—the immediate effect was to strengthen the tone of the ministers appointed to preach at a fast preparatory to the consideration of the subject. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hill, Baillie testifies, “preached two of the most Scottish and free sermons that ever I heard,” for on other occasions preachers took all the edge from

³⁸ *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 184. It is interesting, in view of White’s connexion with New England, to note the bitterness displayed by Baillie against the “New England Way.” “They in New England are more strict and rigid than we, or any Church, to suppress, by the power of the magistrate, all who are not of their way, to banishment ordinarilie, and lately, [May, 1644] even presentlie death or perpetual slaverie.” [p. 183]. “The misorders which are at this time in New England”, 18 Feb. 1644, [p. 143]; “in all New England, no libertie of living for a Presbyterian.” [p. 168]. White obviously held similar opinions on this subject. See p. 216.

³⁹ Lightfoot, *Works*, XIII. p. 27. Later Burgess and Marshall were replaced by Calamy and Yonge.

⁴⁰ The records show that the propositions put forward by this Committee were dealt with by the Assembly. Baillie mentions that once it failed to supply material, so the Assembly marked time by discussing “the office of widows.”

their exhortations, making them "toothless and adulatorious," but "these two good men laid well about them and charged publicke and parliamentarie sins strictlie on the backs of the guilty; among the rest, their neglect to settle religion according to the Covenant, and to sett up Ordination, which lay so long on their hands."⁴¹

The required paper was promptly sent down by the House, but the Scots disliked it. However, by "stout dealing" they obtained their desires.

Occasionally there was direct communication between the National Assembly and what they called "the Synod of Divines in England." In January, 1644/5, the Scots Commissioners "were ravished with admiration of the right hand of God Almighty," which had enabled the English Synod to level "the High Mountains of Prelacy," to lay aside the Prayer Book for the Directory and to accept the principal propositions of Church Government. The English Synod reported that they had spent "divers months in search of the Scriptures, to finde out the minde of Christ concerning a Frame of Church Government," scrutinizing "every proposition that we might find it warranted by the Word of God, in a method of our own, without resting upon any particular modell or frame whatsoever already constituted."⁴² In conclusion they quoted:—"It is the Lot of Jerusalem, to have her walls built in troublous times," a particularly favourite text with White; indeed, we are tempted to think that he, who signed as one of the three officials, had some part in drawing up the paper.

The National Assembly resented this but admitted that "you have walked in pathes unusuall, which have not been haunted by Travellers there, as the publicke way, though pointed out as the good old way by the Reformed kirks, we do not wonder that you have carefully adverted in every step to set foot upon sure ground;" the "tree of Episcopacy," deeply rooted, is not lopped of its branches and the stump of the root bound with iron and brass, but plucked up by the roots. Yet "the Carpenter has a hard task."

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁴² *Two letters of great Concernment*, British Museum, Tract 394 (4).

The Service Book, cried up as the only way of worship, makes it "difcill to forgo the accustomed way," so they point out matters in the Directory of which they do not approve. This air of superiority must have been hard for those at Westminster to endure.

The Psalter, one point considered by the Grand Committee, particularly interested White, then engaged in translating it into verse.⁴³ They were urged to accept the version prepared by "an old honest member of the House," Mr. Rous,⁴⁴ but Baillie preferred Rowallen's Psalter.⁴⁵ Nye objected to being tied to any version at all,⁴⁶ but it was pointed out that for each person to sing his own "would be a great distraction and hinderance to edification,"^{46a} while the Scots were shocked by a suggestion to abolish the Psalter altogether.

Sub-committees were appointed by the Grand Committee to discuss details; as far as can be discovered White was on none of these but acted with the main body to whom presently was entrusted the task of reconciling differences of opinion in the Assembly regarding church government, to find "some way how tender consciences may be borne with."⁴⁷ The Scots resented this order, made "without the least advertisement to us," thus to consider how "to unite us and the Independents; or if that be found impossible to see how they may be tollerate." For twelve months the Independents had delayed everything and "the fruit of their disservice" was this Act of Parliament for their toleration "before we have

⁴³ See below p. 442.

⁴⁴ Baillie, *Letters*, II. p. 120.

⁴⁵ For reference to the Psalter by Sir William Muir of Rowallen see Laing's *Baillie*, II. p. 101. Baillie had asked for a copy in 1643.

⁴⁶ Cotton Mather, dealing with the famous "Bay State Psalm Book," and saying that different portions were assigned for retranslation to ministers in Roxbury and Dorchester [Mass.], quotes Shepard's lines:—

You Roxbury poets keep clear of the Crime
Of missing to give us very good Rhime.
And you of Dorchester your verses lengthen,
But with the texts own words, you will them strengthen.

Magnalia Christi, Bk. I. p. 100.

^{46a} *Welbeck MSS*, No. 46.

⁴⁷ *Commons Journals*, III. p. 626.

gotten anything for Presbyterie either in Assemblie or Parliament."⁴⁸ Their "greatest plot," with which the Scots were wrestling, was an order "stollen through" to the Committee by Mr. Solicitor and Mr. Marshall, which "presentlie gave us the allarme," for toleration was to be dealt with before presbytery or any common rule was established;⁴⁹ they felt they had been slighted. The quarrel between Presbyterians and Independents had arisen on the first consideration of church government and now threatened to wreck the whole cause of Uniformity.

The Independent Party, or "Dissenting Brethren", numbering twenty-five, was a thorn in the side of the Assembly. "The great shot of Cromwell and Vane is to have a libertie for all religions, without any exceptions," says Baillie, a policy not to be endured by the Presbyterian party. "Many a tyme we are put to great trouble of mind: wee must make the best of ane ill game we can."⁵⁰

Marshall, chairman of the Grand Committee, disliked the Scots, and by "canny convoyance" excluded them from the sub-committees; he "miskenned" them, he and his faction having a middle way of their own—"to give ordination and excommunication to congregations, albeit dependently, in case of mal-administration, God help us!" exclaimed Baillie. "If God be pleased to settle Scotland and give us Newcastle, all will go well."⁵¹ The Scots considered the military situation had an important bearing upon ecclesiastical affairs; at an early date they proposed not to meddle with Independency, "till it please God to advance our armie, which we expect will much assist our arguments."⁵² Their opinion was correct. When Newcastle fell into their hands it became unnecessary to conciliate the Independents, so the Commons voted that the Treaty Committee should "surcease to sit" until further orders. Baillie writes gleefully, "the Commons voted, over the Independents bellie, the dissolving of that dangerous committee, which these five weeks hes

⁴⁸ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 230.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

vexed us.”⁵³ But when the Battle of Naseby was won the dangerous question was reopened.

The Scots considered their best course was to carry the argument for toleration to its logical conclusion, *i.e.* to include toleration of Anabaptists, Libertines, Antinomians and all the rest usually accounted by the religiously-minded outside the pale. But the Independents refused to answer such an argument.⁵⁴ They sought to establish self-government in each congregation, and, failing that, to demand exemption from ecclesiastical control under the Presbyterian system. When this system was about to be introduced Parliament was reluctant to allow the last word to rest with ecclesiastical tribunals, and, failing to prevent the introduction of a Presbyterian scheme of some sort, the Independents were the more ready to allow lay—*i.e.* Parliamentary—control over ecclesiastical affairs.

Both the House and the Assembly had become increasingly Erastian so when, on 7th July, 1645, the latter body presented its “Humble Request” concerning Church government, in the form warmly approved by Baillie, there was little chance of its adoption. On 19th August Presbyteries were at last established, but subject in certain essentials to the jurisdiction of county committees, in their turn subordinate to Parliament,—“a lame Erastian Presbyterie”⁵⁵ that caused the gravest disturbance of mind to the Assembly.

On 22nd September the Assembly asked the “Dissenting Brethren” to present their long-withheld “model of church government”, but received in return, on 13th October, only their reasons for not presenting it—“a sheet or two of injurious reasons,” Baillie says, which were considered so insolent that the Assembly appointed a sub-committee to answer them, but before this had been prepared Parliament took the matter out of their hands by reviving the Treaty Committee as a Committee of Accommodation.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁵⁴ Baillie writes on 1st July, 1645, that for three months they had been out of sight, preparing their model of church government. [*Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 291.]

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

In 1648 was published the "Papers given in to the Honourable Committee of Lords, Commons and Divines with the Commissioners of Scotland for Accomodation 1644. By a Sub-Committee of Divines of the Assembly and Dissenting Brethren."⁵⁶ The divines appointed were:— Marshall, Burgess, White, Hoyle, Temple, Smith, Palmer, Seaman, Herle, Goodwin, Nye, Bridges, Hill, Reynolds, Arrowsmith, Young, Vines, Tuckney, Newcomen, Simpson, Burroughs and Durie. They met first on 17th November, 1645, in the Jerusalem Chamber, and appointed a sub-committee to prepare material and draw up reports.

The Presbyterians now sought a *modus vivendi*, even for union, with their opponents, but though certain points of faith were agreed upon, on Church government they were hopelessly at variance. The Independents declared that Parliament by establishing a Presbyterian form of government, had prejudged the question of union; they demanded liberty to be expressly excluded from the jurisdiction of the Presbyteries, with toleration for all sects, except Episcopalians, and, of course, Catholics. The Presbyterians insisted that the Dissenting Brethren should explain the meaning of their expressions "Tyranny and pressing men's consciences," and "Uniformity for uniformity's sake," and asked "Would they allow a toleration of Episcopacy, Presbytery, Brownism, Erastianism, or any other government excogitated by the fancies of men? etc."⁵⁷ To such queries the Grand Committee obtained no answer.

The Assembly was almost ready to allow toleration to all who accepted the Directory and the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, but in vain. Baillie declares his party would "for peace cause, dispence with them in many things; but they are peremptor they will not hear nor speak of any accommodation, but they will by all means have their separate churches. They plead for a toleration of other sects alsweell as to themselves; and with much adoe could we get them to propone what they desired to themselves. At last they did give us a paper, requireing expresslie a full toleration of con-

⁵⁶ British Museum, *Tract*, E. 439 (3).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

gregations in their way every where, separate from ours. In our answer we did flatlie deny such a vast libertie, and backed it with reasons, and withall are begun to shew what indulgence we could, for peace sake, grant." Marshall, the chairman, their most diligent agent, tried to "draw too many of us to grant them much more than my heart can yield to, and which to my power I oppose. As yet we are not to express our rash bounty, and some things have interveened from God, that I hope will stay the precipitancie of some whom I expected should have been more opposite to all tolleration of separate congregations, than when it comes to a chock I found them." While printing their own case they prevented the Assembly from printing theirs. "All these are alarmes to make us, if we be not demented, as many the best men here are, to be the more wary of their tolleration."⁵⁸

Some urged that unless some positive indulgence were granted to the Independents the Committee would incur insupportable odium, while concessions might be safely offered as they would never be accepted because they would destroy Independency. The Sub-committee voted such great toleration that Baillie declared that its acceptance, which seemed likely, would by law give the Church over to confusion. We have bickered, he writes, with the Independents over indulgence to their separate congregations, we have spent many sheets of paper, "They have given in wrytes thryce, and we have also oft ansuered in wryte; They are on their fourth wryte: to these we must give a fourth rejoinder, and then come to debate verballie. For this point both they and we contend *tanquam pro aris et focis*. Had it been God's will to have made our armie here this last year successful, we should have had few debates for any of our desyres; bot the calamities of our countrey, and weakness of our armie, makes the sects bold, and very insolent."⁵⁹

The points were irreconcilable. The Presbyterians stoutly demanded real power for Church officers, that they might deal with these very "schismatics", and the Parliamentarians and Independ-

⁵⁸ *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 343.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

ents, fearing how such powers might be exercised, were equally resolute not to concede them.

At their last meeting on 9th March, 1645/6, the Presbyterian divines firmly asserted that the "dissenting brethren say that uniformity ought to be urged no further than is agreeable to all men's consciences and to their edification . . . as if their brethren not only desired liberty of conscience for themselves but for all men, and would have us think, that we are bound by our Covenant to bring the churches of the three kingdoms no nearer a conjunction and uniformity than is consistent with the liberty of all men's consciences, which whether it be the sense of the Covenant we leave to the honourable Committee."⁶⁰ Jeremiah Burroughs replied for the Independents:— "That if their congregations might not be exempted from the power of the *Classes*,⁶¹ if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the civil magistrates, they were resolved to suffer, or go to some place of the world where they might enjoy their liberty. But while men think there is no way of peace but by forcing all to be of one mind, while they think the civil sword is an ordinance of God to determine all controversies of divinity, and that it must needs be attended with fines and imprisonment to the disobedient; while they apprehend there is no medium between a strict uniformity and a general confusion of all things; while these sentiments prevail there must be a base subjection of men's consciences to slavery, a suppression of much truth, and a great disturbance of the Christian world."⁶²

Even if the Committee reached a compromise they knew that in Parliament all their work was likely to be "scraped out," for toleration "is their idoll. The most of them are incredibly zealous for it; the Pope and King were never more earnest for the headship of the Church than the pluralitie of this Parliament."⁶³

⁶⁰ *Papers given in*, p. 133.

⁶¹ *Classes*—The several *Classis*.

⁶² Neal, *Puritans*, III. p. 308.

⁶³ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 360.

By 17th March the Grand Committee, like the Scots, were "in perplexed solicitude of mind," and, realizing a compromise to be impossible, they gladly relinquished all attempts at an accommodation; henceforth they met no more.

Baxter, no friend of Independency, declared that the Presbyterians "were so little sensible of their own infirmities that they would not agree to tolerate those that were not only tolerable but worthy instruments and members of the churches," while, "prudent men were for union in all things necessary, but liberty in all things unnecessary and charity for all; but they could not be heard."⁶⁴

The work of the Treaty or Grand Committee has been traced from its appointment to receive the Scots to its ultimate failure to reconcile the two opposing parties, in all of which White took his part, supporting the Presbyterians and opposing the Independents, though several personal friends were of the latter party. It was during its session that he preached his sermon on the "Troubles of Jerusalems Restauration" so full of serious counsels and pious hopefulness, which ought to have had some influence upon the contending parties.

⁶⁴ Sylvester, *Life of Baxter*, p. 103.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES

(*continued*)

[1643-1646]

“Upon your reformation, if happily performed, doth depend the reformation of all churches in Christendom as upon a Rule & Exemplar.”

SERMON BY WILLIAM BRIDGE,
29TH NOVEMBER, 1643.

NO doubt, because of his habit of self-effacement, writers on the Westminster Assembly have paid scant attention to the part White took therein and the influence he exercised, with the result that his point of view has been completely misunderstood.

In spite of his work on the Grand Committee and his ill-health, he participated in its deliberations, and the sincerity of his opinions won him the respect of his opponents. In 1647 White sent the manuscript of the “Way to the Tree of Life” to Thomas Goodwin, a famous Independent who ever maintained his views with acrimony; in acknowledging the honour done by submitting this before printing “to the test of my weak judgment,” he said, it “hath clean taken off that little of jealousy of any strangeness by reason of these unhappy differences in comparison of former intimacy: so the quickening materials hereof have fully revived in my heart that intenseness of Christian and Brotherly love towards you, with this just cause of addition and increase: That after your having sacrificed your spirits and strength in the most public way of service to God

and his Church, with more than ordinary activity and self-denial, you still retain such a spiritual vigour both of grace and judgment, (as this issue shows) in these years of old age and infirmities."¹

The esteem of all parties led to White's selection as spokesman on more than one important occasion, and he was so fearlessly outspoken that he dared rebuke the unseemly wrangles both within and without the Assembly. "Differences in judgement in matters of lesse moment (grounded commonly rather upon inferences out of Scripture then upon the cleere letter of the Text) neither ought to settle our mindes upon an infallibility of what wee maintain, (considering that the more use there is of humane reason, by drawing out conclusions, by way of inference, the lesse certainty there is in the conclusions so deduced) nor much lesse cause divisions between those, who, embracing the unity of faith, may hold it in the bond of peace, and would so do, if there were amongst us that lowliness, meeknesse, and long-suffering, which is commended to us by the Apostle. . . . No such difference of judgement (as suppose about forms of Ecclesiasticall Discipline) though they may for a time disturb, yet they destroy not the Church, as long as we accord in the fundamentalls upon which it is built."²

He objected strongly to mixing religion and politics—the very essence of the situation,—while he recognized that the Reformation of the Church must be undertaken in these unpropitious circumstances or not at all. On one critical occasion, when acting as chairman, this dislike of combining politics and religion saved the situation. This was in 1643 when the "Oxford Plot" caused the citizens of London to be suspected of favouring the King; to disprove this the City Fathers gave a great banquet to both Houses of Parliament and the Assembly. Before the feast, Stephen Marshall, in a sermon addressed to them, referred to plots devised by the King's supporters "be they Jesuits, friars, priests, professors, or even those called Puritans." After healths were drunk at this banquet, to give it a religious atmosphere Dr. Burgess "lined out" the 85th Psalm,

¹ Introductory Letter to the *Way to the Tree of Life*.

² *Troubles of Jerusalems Restoration*, p. 57.

as a token of the joy they felt at their delivery from the dangers that had threatened them.³ But their rejoicing was premature as a plot for the surrender, by treachery, of Aylesbury to the King was discovered soon after, on 26th January. Three days later, when White was in the chair, the question on the agenda was the power of the London clergy to ordain, and he proposed to eliminate the word "London",⁴ as any matter touching the city was exceptionally delicate, for the London Independents, even certain members of the Assembly, knew beforehand of the Aylesbury plot,—some were suspected of being actually implicated in it. At the same time if the right to establish immediately a Presbytery in the city had been granted, the Independent cause would have been jeopardized. White's efforts to avoid politics and his fairness to his opponents, the Independents, are well illustrated by this incident.

Baillie's view of the above-mentioned banquet gives an interesting side-light on the events of the day. The invitations were delivered in person by the Sheriffs and Aldermen in their gowns and chains. After Marshall's sermon in Christ Church, through streets lined by the Trained Bands, the procession passed to Merchant Tailors' Hall, the scene of the feast; the Common Council in gowns, the Mayor and Aldermen on horseback in scarlet, the high military officers, the Lords, the Commons headed by their Speaker, and the Assembly. The Scots were to have marched between the two bodies last-named, but "not loving to take place before all the Divines in England, [we] stole away to our coach," but owing to the "hudge crouding of people" they were forced to proceed on foot. In Cheapside "where the rich cross was wont to stand," was a huge bonfire of "manie fyne pictures of Christ and the saints, of relicks, beads and such trinkets." The feast, though estimated to have cost four thousand pounds, had "no desert, nor musick, but drums and trumpets." When healths were drunk "the Lords stood up everie one with his glass, for they represent none but themselves, and drank to the Commons. . . . The Sword-bearer, with his strong

³ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 134.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Works*, XIII. p. 129.

cap of maintenance still fixed on his head, came to us with the Mayor's drink. The ceremonie was a fair demonstration of the great amitie of all these whom the Oxford plott would have divided. Yet we wish the union in realitie had been as great as it was in shew."⁵ A canny comment!

Ill-health and straightened circumstances made White's stay in London wearisome. When in September, 1643, Parliament allotted the first one hundred pounds to such of the Assembly as were most in need thereof for supply of their present necessities, he was one of the recipients. Twenty pounds was granted him later, in April, 1646,⁶ by the Assembly, but was cancelled⁷ as about that time he obtained the full profits of Lambeth.

From the early days of the Assembly he was much confined to his house, being a martyr to gout,⁸ and on occasion delegates from the Assembly visited him to enquire for his health and probably also to consult him or obtain his signature to documents.⁹ But he made a special effort, it seems, to attend in June, 1645, when the Assembly dealt with certain "blasphemous opinions," a subject on which he felt deeply and spoke earnestly when preaching to the Lords:—"The divisions against which we crave the help of all power, Civill and Ecclesiasticall, are such as are occasioned by the reviving of such dangerous Heresies as strike at the foundation of faith, and power of godlinesse, taken up by most of our Antinomians, Arminians, Anabaptists, Seekers, and many the like;" some "denying the Deity of Christ, and the Holy Ghost, uttering unheard-of blasphemies against the sacred Trinity, etc."¹⁰

It was the rule for Parliament to submit to the Assembly, for special consideration, books presented to it as containing blasphem-

⁵ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 134.

⁶ *Manuscript Minutes*, fol. 38, and list on fol. 1d.

⁷ Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 79.

⁸ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 107.

⁹ On 27th March, 1645, he was visited; on 29th he signed a document; on 10th April he was visited and his estate enquired into and he then signed a document. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, under dates given.

¹⁰ *Troubles of Jerusalems Restauration*, p. 57.

ous opinions, but on occasion the Assembly took the initiative. On 10th June, 1645, they ordered that "the liberty of all religions under the pretence of liberty of conscience, maintained in books and otherwise, lately published, may be speedily suppressed, which hath been the occasion of those and the like blasphemous opinions,"—an order made because the ministers of York brought before them the case of Paul Best, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity. After passing this they adjourned in a body to lay the matter before the Commons. When informed that the Assembly was at the door, the House commanded the Prolocutor and Assessors to state the case with essential quotations from Best's writings. Walter Yonge, in his short-hand notes, reports that "Mr. White said that it would take too long to relate the particulars but that we should express our detestation of such blasphemies against God and the second Person of the Trinity and [also] of this ignorant doctrine." Burgess pointed out that such doctrines were not fit to be believed and though claimed to be allowed under liberty of Conscience we should not suffer blasphemies; such liberty of Conscience would be contrary to the Covenant.¹¹ Parliament was urged to use the authority entrusted to them to execute condign punishment upon an offender of so fearful a nature, that he might be made an example of their detestation of such prodigious blasphemies and heresies.

The Assembly were thanked for their desire to suppress such opinions "that spread too much abroad in this town and elsewhere," as well as for their speedy notification of the matter, and were informed that it would receive consideration. Eventually, after being subjected to argument by certain Divines and having made a qualified recantation, Best and his offence appear to have been dropped.¹²

Another book, maintaining that God was the "Author of the

¹¹ British Museum, *Add. MS.* 18778, f. 10.

¹² See Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 102 and note, also p. 214. Neal, *Puritans*, III, p. 315, says the House condemned Best to death, but a qualified recantation saved him.

sinfulness of Sin," published under the title "Comfort for Believers, about their Sins and Troubles" by John Archer, was presented to the House by a committee of which White was a member. Because of its "abominable and blasphemous opinion", they ordered the book to be burnt by the hangman, and a paper "by way of detestation" prepared by the Assembly to be read at the same time.¹³ The tract prepared, specifying the blasphemies, still exists.¹⁴ Yonge records the exhibition of the book in the House and says that many believed that the printer was the author of the book and that Archer, who was dead, by this use of his name, "was abused as he was a reverente divyne."¹⁵ The book was publicly burnt at Westminster, Cheapside, Smithfield and St. Paul's.¹⁶

White was one of those instructed by the Assembly, on 7th July, "to bestow their pains amongst prisoners in several prisons,"¹⁷ and next day he was appointed on a Committee to deal with the offence of the late arrival and early departure of members.¹⁸

As Assessor, White signed many documents, among them a letter, by order of Parliament, addressed by the Assembly to the "Belgick, French, Helvetian and other reformed churches", upon the efforts of Satan and Anti-Christ to introduce Popery into England, a copy of the Covenant being enclosed.¹⁹ Sections of the Directory for Public Worship, when they had passed the As-

¹³ *Commons Journals*, July 14th, 1645. The reputed author seems to have been the Archer recommended by White to the Massachusetts Bay Company.

¹⁴ British Museum, *Tracts*, E. 294 (3).

¹⁵ British Museum, *Add. MS.* 18778 p. 74. The printer's name was Benjamin Allen, See *Tract* E. 289 (7).

¹⁶ A marginal note to a sermon by Baillie, preached 30th July, 1645, refers to this "blasphemy of the Libertine and of M. Archers book justly burnt therefor—that which makes us the more to marvel what these men can mean, who lately here under the name of M. Archer a famous Independent in his time, have printed the worst and grossest of these Blasphemies."—British Museum, *Tracts*, E. 294 (12).

¹⁷ Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 110.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁹ Rushworth, *Collections*, p. 371.

sembly, were sent in manuscript to the House; these he must have signed with pleasure, being deeply interested in the preparation of this substitute for the Prayer Book.

The first portion was ready on 21st November, 1644, but the Independents nearly wrecked it because of the Preface; one party, the Presbyterians, wished "to turn the Directorie to a straight Liturgie, the other to make it so loose and free, that it should serve for little use; but God helped us to get both these rocks eschewed," writes Baillie, "many a wearisome debate has it cost us; but we hope the sweet fruit will overbalance the very great toyle we had in it. The last passage was sensibly guided by God . . . with huge deall of adoe, we had passed the parts that concerned prayers, reading of Scripture, preaching, both the sacraments, ordination, and sanctification of the Sabbath."²⁰

The actual document presented to the House still exists—the last sheet, signed by White with the other officials,²¹ concerns the Sanctification of the Lord's Day,—its very words seem echoes of White's sermon on the Fourth Commandment.

At varying intervals other sections, almost invariably bearing his signature, were sent up; the final portion, dated 27th December, 1644, appropriately at the close of the year, is headed "Concerning Publique Solemn Fasting; Concerning the Observation of Days of Publique Thanksgiving; Of Singing of Psalms."²² A fitting climax—thanksgiving for the completion of their task, singing of Psalms expressing their joy. Here they assert:—"It is the duty of Christians to rejoyce publicly by singing of Psalms together in the Congregation and also privately in the family;" the

²⁰ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing II, p. 242.

²¹ *Welbeck Abbey MS. XXII* (Nelson Collection) No. 4. Through the kindness of the Duke of Portland I was permitted to make a careful study of these documents and desire to express again my great obligation to his Grace for his courtesy.

²² Certain sections, including the above, are not preserved at Welbeck Abbey, but in the Bodleian Library, *Tanner MS. 61*, ff. 162, 171, 186 and 210. It is interesting to notice that in one or two cases White's name has been written in as a signature, apparently by Byfield, the scribe.

whole congregation were told to join therein. Public Solemn Fasting and the singing of Psalms were two of White's favourite forms of worship. With what happiness he must have viewed the result of their labours!

In controversial matters White took his part, his views coinciding with those of the Presbyterians as opposed to the Independents. The paper giving Scriptural authority for the scheme of church government proposed by the Presbyterians he signed, as well as that bitter address pointing out the cause of the delay in reaching a right conclusion. The House, they said, had ordered written objections to be presented for their consideration; the Independents spent thirteen sessions on one point, sixteen on another, had filled three score sheets of paper and yet had not finished—that party must bear all the blame.

Church government, the point at issue between the parties, he held ought not to be so acrimoniously discussed. "Divisions and drawing into parties, are the most destructive wayes of Christian societies." Well-ordered arrangement, such as the Presbyterians proposed, had divine sanction. God will build streets in Jerusalem, both for Order and Beauty. "There must therefore be streets in Jerusalem, distinction of Offices and Functions, and distributions of the people into tribes, Cities, and Daughters of Cities (as the Scripture terms them) Villages and particular Congregations, without which there can be no orderly government." "These are the advantages that the City of God and Church hath by uniting into a well-compacted body, fenced with Civill and Ecclesiasticall power, and in an orderly manner divided into streets or congregations."²³ Such unity of design would be destroyed by the Independents, so he urged its acceptance, agreeing, no doubt, with his witty friend, Nathaniel Ward, that "if publique Assemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private conventicles of illiterate men, will soon find a wrong."²⁴

A thorny point in the discussion of church government was the

²³ *Troubles of Jerusalems Restauration*, pp. 55, 50, 51.

²⁴ *Simpler Cobler of Aggawam*, ed. 1843, p. 40.

right of excommunication or excluding persons from the Lord's Table; a thornier one still was who should decide what sins gave ground for exclusion. White agreed with the Assembly that according to Christ's ordinance the question of what sins should be so punished should be decided by the ministers.²⁵ Parliament sought to limit their power to a few specified sins, the remainder to be punishable by County Committees under Parliamentary control. The more sins the Assembly claimed as falling under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities the fewer Parliament would concede.

The latter presented a schedule of seven sins, the Assembly, in an "Advice", protested against this derogation of the clery, added eleven other sins, declared no enumeration would be complete so they should have power to add to the number.²⁶ Soon after, in a "Humble Petition", they asserted Christ had ordained a government and governors in His Church; a special branch of that government was "to seclude from ecclesiastical communion such as shall publicly scandalize and offend the Church of God," adding that no other claim had been suggested until "Erastius a physician (who by his profession may be supposed to have had better skill in curing the diseases of the natural than the scandals of the ecclesiastical body) did move to the contrary." "We persuade ourselves," they conclude, "that the Lord will, when you have finished the work [of building] his house put an end to the rage of your enemies, and to those sad and miserable distractions, which have so long set these kingdoms and churches in a flame." John White signed this Petition as "Prolocutor *pro tempore*."²⁷ It received a curt acknowledgement.

Parliamentary encroachments so threatened the clerical prerogatives that by 8th August the Assembly proposed to declare

²⁵ Cf. White, *Way to the Tree of Life*, p. 20; a curious passage, after referring to certain ceremonies in themselves good, which should be retained, deals with the exclusion of unclean persons from the use of the Ordinances of the Church.

²⁶ *Welbeck MS.* XXII, No. 22.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 23.

And we hope & persuade ourselves (though we confess Gods ways &
counsailes are unsearchable, & cannot be traced or foreseen by humane
Indgmt) that y^e Lord will, when you have finished y^e work of his
house, put an end to y^e rage of y^e Enmity, & to those sadde & mis-
erable distractions, w^{ch} have so long fast held these Kingdomes & Churches
in a flame.

w^{ch} it & shall be y^e day by prayer of y^e most humble petitioners.

John White Prolocutor pro tempore

Henry Roborough scriba.

Adoniram Bysshe scilicet.

FACSIMILE OF AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN WHITE

From the Duke of Portland's MS.



FACSIMILE OF SEAL OF JOHN WHITE

“plainly their claim *jure divino*, of power to suspend from the Sacrament all such as they should judge to be scandalous or ignorant.”²⁸ After preparing “diverse fair papers, at last they framed a most zealous, clear and peremptor one, wherein they held out plainly the Church’s divyne right to keep off from the Sacrament all who are scandalous; and if they cannot obtain the free exercise of that power which Christ hath given them, they will lay downe their charges, and rather choyse all afflictions than to sinne by prophaning the Holy Table. The House is highly inflamed with this petition, and seems resolute to refuse it. The Assembly is also peremptor to have it granted; for upon this point, they say, depends their standing, all the godly being resolved to separate from them, if there be not a power, and care, to keep the prophane from the Sacraments. If the Lord assist us not in this difficultie, it may be the cause of great confusion among us.”²⁹

The petition, swiftly prepared, read, debated and voted to be sent to the House, they entrusted to John White, as Assessor; he presented it in a fervent speech, declaring that “there is not a matter of Higher concernment for the Glory of God and Peace of the Church than the matter of this Petition is, nor was ever anything presented to this House with more Zeal and Tenderness of Conscience. And therefore they do desire that it may be taken into consideration.”³⁰ Contrary to the usual custom, the words used by a divine on presenting a petition are entered in the records of Parliament.

Walter Yonge, his friend, then a Member, reports White’s speech more fully in his note-book, written in a curious combination of long- and short-hand. The scene is not difficult to reconstruct in imagination—the venerable Divine, well-known to most and esteemed by all, borne by the fervour of his feelings upon a matter of such transcendent importance, speaking with deep earnestness, indicated by the hasty scribbles of the Member, made as the torrent of words

²⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 24.

²⁹ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, II, p. 307.

³⁰ *Commons Journals*, IV, p. 234.

poured forth—this record leaves much to be desired in clarity of diction. Under Friday, 8th August, Yonge writes:—"The Assembly of Divines came to the House and presented a petition by Mr. White and of the Assembly who said, there was no matter so tenderly concerning God's honour nor more zealously concerning the Church. The petition was that they give their advice for the Government of the Church and Directory and [*since they*] gave their advice they have no rest to their spirit and therefore they again petition: that they seek not themselves but the glory of God and [*the*] preservation of soules and did believe that what they desire is the [*will?*] of Christ, and therefore [*they*] did in his name ask it. They are persuaded for the profanation of the Sacrament the hande of God is upon this londe and therefore they cannot hold their peace; they have sworne in the Covenant to extirpate what is not according to God's Word and against scisme and [*this*] will be for the preventing of scisme and check profaneness, for [*otherwise*] their preaching will not prevayle and presently admitt them to his table. For the separation of them from the sacrament is not according to the will of man and therefore not arbitrary and the power is co-existent with the liberty of the subject; for no man can claim the sacrament by vertue of his free borne being subject and its [i. e. the power of excommunication] graunted them [the ministers] by Ed. 6 and Eliz. in the rubreck of the *Common* prayer and therefore [*they*] did pray that ministers & elders may be inabled to keep all suche as are scandalous from the sacrament els not only they but many of their brethren will forsake their ministry and they had rather chose affliction (than to defile their ministry, *erased*) then iniquity."³¹

The Assembly, anxious about the reception of their petition, adjourned until their envoy's return. Mr. Assessor White

³¹ In the above elucidation of the manuscript the italicised words in brackets [] are inserted in order to make sense or explain; it will be seen that there is but one word indecipherable, but the sense requires *will* or a synonym. The erasure at the end is indicated. The *Notebook* is in British Museum, *Additional MS.* 18778, f. 61.

informed them that their petition had been delivered and this answer was received "that they had read the petition, and had considered the desires of it, and would take it into further consideration."³² Soon after the House notified them that it would hold a conference on the following Monday, with such Committee as they might appoint. Undismayed, they prepared instructions,—the Committee must not present a list of scandalous sins without the special consent of the Assembly, nor recede from the position it had already taken up; it must conclude nothing *de novo* and must dwell chiefly on the *jus divinum* of the power of Church officers to keep scandalous persons from the Sacrament.³³

Discussion continued between the two bodies,—regardless of protests the House sent down a list of specified sins which would incur excommunication, all others were reserved for the decision of Parliament.³⁴ On its receipt Marshall declared that "it is so short in some things that according to my present light we shall not be able to proceed in our ministry with a good conscience."³⁵ Both parties were equally resolved to maintain their rights. In the following March, when dealing with the 25th Article of the Confession of Faith,³⁶ the Assembly reasserted the distinction between the government committed by Christ to church officers and that committed to civil magistrates. At the same moment Parliament issued an order relating to the jurisdiction of the elders. Baillie summarizes the situation:—The Commons "have passed an ordinance, not only for appeale from the Generall Assemblie to the Parliament, but for two ruleing elders, for one minister in every church meeting, for no censure, except in such particular offences as they have enumerat; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been labouring this moneth bygone, a

³² Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 120.

³³ See Shaw, *English Church*, I. p. 217.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³⁵ Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 157.

³⁶ Shaw, *English Church*, I. p. 103.

court of civill commissioners in every county, to whom the congregational elderships must bring all cases not enumerat, to be reported by them with their judgement, to the Parliament or theif Committee. This is a trick of the Independents invention, of purpose to enervat and disgrace all our Government, in which they have been assisted by the lawyers and Erastian partie. . . . In the meantime it marrs us to sett up any thing."³⁷

To counter this ordinance the Assembly instructed a fresh committee to prepare a paper "to assert the *jus divinum* of Church censures, in whose hands *jure divino* these censures are."³⁸ The resulting petition declared that it was contrary to Christ's appointment, to the custom of Reformed Churches and to the Covenant, to enumerate sins, so they dared not do so. Many of the best and most conscientious, anxious for the Church's reformation, would be cast into the snare of Separation. Fearing God's displeasure they dared not keep silence so repeated their claim.³⁹ Parliament counted this reiteration a breach of privilege; they declared they would not assent to the "granting of an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near 10,000 judicatories to be erected within the kingdom."⁴⁰

The *Narrative* of the Breach of Privilege debate asserts that "by fundamental laws and constitutions Parliament has this great privilege to be the supreme Judicatory in all causes spiritual and temporal, and do delegate as much of their power as they think fit. And when they have declared their judgments and given their directions in a law, the same is binding to all persons of this kingdom of whatever quality." The Assembly had not been "authorized to interpret the Court," nor could they debate whether a law passed by both Houses agreed or disagreed with the Word of God unless they were so required.⁴¹ The Assembly not being so authorized,

³⁷ *Letters*, ed. Laing, II. p. 257.

³⁸ Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 207.

³⁹ *Welbeck MS.* XXII. No. 39.

⁴⁰ *Commons Journals*, IV. p. 513.

⁴¹ *Welbeck MS.* XXII, No. 35.

reaffirm that the provision of Commissioners to judge unenumerated scandals is in their consciences contrary to the way of Government⁴² appointed by Christ and they dare not practise it, and, secondly, that the power in unenumerated cases belongs to the Elderships by Divine Right.⁴³ It was agreed that this was a Breach of Privilege and the Assembly was informed of it in no gentle manner.

The "staggered Assembly" appointed a day of humiliation and summoned all the Divines to a debate on 4th May. This formulated demand, accompanied by something like threats, that they should recognize the civil power to be supreme over the ecclesiastical, proved to them that having thrown off the episcopal yoke, their fight for freedom had ended in the imposition of a Parliamentary yoke.

White's opinion of the situation and of the struggle over the "power of the keys" is best given in his own words:—"I wish that jealousie were at this time so thoroughly removed out of mens heads, that they might no more feare that the Reformation of the Church, according to the Patterne layd downe in Gods word, will prove like Nebuchadnezzars stone, a meanes to break all other Kingdomes (that is, as too many conceive) all Civill Power and Government in pieces." He admits the responsibility of the civil power—"the greatest weight of this work [of reformation] lies upon the hands of the Princes and Rulers" as appears by God's messages; Solomon, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, were all commended for zeal in establishing and reforming the Church of God. "This wall of the Churches defence is the power of the Magistrate for whom we are to pray, that under him we may lead a peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty . . . being by his power preserved in peace . . . Princes shall be unto his Church, a hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest. . . . There is besides the Magistrates sword, an inner wall, Ecclesiasticall discipline, by

⁴² "contrary to the way" substituted for "contrary to the word of God".

⁴³ "by divine right" substituted for "*jure divino*." *Welbeck MS.* XXII, No. 45, because of these erasures, must be the original draft.

which the little Foxes (as they are termed) are taken or kept out; such as speak perverse things to draw Disciples after them . . . the Apostle . . . commands Titus to proceed against them by Ecclesiasticall censure, Admonition and Rejection." This is by Christ's appointment the function of the Church and not of the civil power. "These are indeed the true Rails about the Lords Table, to keep out Dogges and Swine (as Christ terms them) from polluting and profaning holy things, and these are Jerusalems walls."⁴⁴ He desires the speedy erection of the "inner wall", that of Ecclesiastical Discipline, so "that Dogs and Swine, prophane persons, may no longer pollute the holy things of God, that such as want wedding garments, may be kept out from the Lords feasts . . . Something you have assaid to do that way already, my prayer is, that you may do, and I hope the Lord will stir up your spirits to do, yet much more. Perhaps ye fear to commit too much power to Ministers, lest the indiscreet abusing it, liberty may thereby suffer prejudice. . . . If Christ have committed to the Minister alone, the highest power of the keys, to bind over some to wrath and judgment, and to loose others . . . do you think it much to commit unto them, assisted with the whole Presbyterie, matters of far lesse moment, the suspending of men for a while from the use of some outward ordinances?"⁴⁵

It has been pointed out that the Presbyterians themselves "had no other weapon to wield against their opponents than those which their prelatical oppressors wielded to so little purpose against themselves. They declare the Presbyterian to be the only true scriptural church government. It existed, they said, *jure divino*." Such an argument had been used to support Episcopacy. "It was the rock upon which Presbyterianism split and foundered."⁴⁶

Even after this crushing blow the Assembly continued to sit, engaged upon the completion of other tasks in hand. Although it was not wholly sterile, for it produced the Confession of Faith,

⁴⁴ *Troubles of Jerusalems Restauration*, pp. 4, 53, 49, 50.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴⁶ Marsden, *Later Puritans*, p. 84.

the Directory of Public Worship and the Westminster Catechism, it had failed in the one respect upon which the Scots laid special stress. Their explanations of its failure are interesting. The Presbyterians had encountered fierce opposition from the sectaries; "there has been a conjunction of interests among those that have been averse to the Covenant, and those who have been aiming at a Reformation of religion hitherto, the Prelatical party and the Independent. There is a great deal of endeavour used to unite them, although, I believe, that by this time they see that their interests and principles are inconsistent," writes Gillespie in 1647, but as "God hath done very great things for us already" he still hoped for a "happy closure". The Assembly had been blessed because they had resolved not to relinquish the Solemn League and Covenant and its ends.⁴⁷ But they had been guilty of nine sins, which he enumerates.⁴⁸ Englishmen may be permitted to speculate what would have been the consequences if the success of the Scots had been either greater or less.

But about a year before Gillespie wrote in this strain to the National Assembly, John White retired from active participation in the work in London. His health was failing; already on 1st January, 1645/6, Dr. Burgess had asked the Assembly to appoint someone to act on occasion for the Assessors, himself and Mr. White, because of their infirmities.⁴⁹ But even after this the Patriarch attended a few sessions. On 7th July, 1646, he voted in the affirmative for the insertion in a memorandum of the words:—

⁴⁷ Baillie, *Letters*, ed. Laing, Appendix III. p. 450.

⁴⁸ 1) Neglecting attendance, though affairs were important, and late coming. 2) Absence from Prayers. 3) Walking and talking in time of debate. 4) Neglecting Committees. 5) Some speak too much, others too little. 6) Indecent behaviour (perhaps the "intolerable insolencie" of the turbulent doctor, Burgess), 7) Unseemly language and heat upon it. 8) Neglecting of trying [examination of Ministers]. 9) Drawing on parties or being frightened with needless jealousies.—See W. Orme, *Life of Dr. John Owen*.

⁴⁹ Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, p. 173. Delegates were appointed to visit White on 10th and 14th November and 29th January, pp. 161, 163, 182.

“That Jesus Christ as King and Head of his Church hath Himself appointed a Church Government distinct from the Civil,⁵⁰ and for the retention of the phrase, “This Church government stands not in any power of external coertions [coactions?] in inflicting bodily punishments, fines or mulcts, upon men’s persons, or otherwise ruling and disposing of men’s estates.”⁵¹ His final appearance in the Assembly recorded in the Minutes, was on 17th July, when he voted on the resolution, “It is the will and appointment of Jesus Christ that notorious and scandalous offenders should be kept away [from the Sacrament].”⁵²

Thus he is found to the very last upholding the *Jus Divinum* of the Church and denying the claim that the Civil authority should be supreme. Weary with the “woful longsomeness” of the wrangle over the right of excommunication and the quarrel with the Independents, alike repugnant to his peace-loving, pious temperament, and his strength sapped by continual suffering, he felt the hand of death upon him and desired to rest among his own people.

It was some eight months before his last appearance in the Assembly, on 26th November, 1645, that, at the request of the Lords, he preached in Westminster Abbey on the text, “The street shall be built again and the wall even in the troublous Times.”⁵³ The sermon, so often quoted above, was printed, by command, under the title of “The Troubles of Jerusalems Restauration or the Churches Reformation,” with a prefatory letter addressed “To the Right Honourable the House of Peers Assembled in Parliament.” “These Meditations,” he writes, were presented in part, though he had intended fully to have delivered them, for they “being conceived (as womens children are) in sorrow and pain, upon the bed of languishing weaknesse, when they were come to the birth, wanted the help of strength to bring them forth: I felt indeed so much, I will not say sorrow, but extremity of pain, while I stood that day before you,

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁵³ *Daniel*, IX. 15.

that I was enforced to present you only the heads, for the most part. . . . You well know that . . . the infirmities of the body have a strong influence upon the soul, and therefore I assure myself you will not expect that from a minde distempered and distracted by the sense of pain and griefe, which might be required of a free and enlarged spirit. . . . The chief subject handled, is the Troubles which accompany the Churches Reformation. . . . In the close of this sermon you shall finde an humble Petition for the cherishing of poor Students, which if you be pleased to entertain with favour, as the last request of a dying man,—nay as an intimation from the Man Christ, who dyed for us, I know not whereby you may more ingage, not man, but the Lord himself to make good his promise to you, to open the windowes of heaven, and to powre upon you and the Land, blessings more then you can receive and to rebuke the devourer for your sakes; so that all Nations shall call you blessed.”

The petition to which he refers is for a grant, he suggests from the Dean and Chapter lands, to the Universities, especially to Oxford, for the support of indigent but deserving students.⁵⁴

⁵⁴On page 60 he points out that, especially in the western parts, there are many youths, well grounded in grammar-learning and of godly disposition ripe for the Universities, but their friends, being robbed of their whole estates, are unable to send them; a thousand pounds from the lands of bishops and cathedrals might be taken for yearly exhibition of ten pounds each for a hundred poor scholars to continue their studies till the Church needs their services elsewhere, and adds that the Papists and Jesuits spare no cost for the training up such as are fit for their service.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RETURN TO DORCHESTER

"Of God's favours . . . esteeme not this the least, that although your teachers have been driven into corners, yet they have been preserved by God's goodness for your further service, and are now restored to you in safety, that your eyes behold them, and your ears hear their voice, showing you the way that you should walk in."

WHITE, *Way to the Tree of Life*.

SOME time before he left London John White felt himself unable to fulfil his pastoral duties properly. As early as 26th May, 1646, he presented to Parliament a petition from the well-affected inhabitants of Lambeth, to pray that as that body had, on the death of their late pastor, Dr. Featley, appointed to the cure John White of Dorchester, "now desirous of returning to his people," they would appoint in his stead Alexander Gregory of Camberwell¹; although the Assembly certified his fitness, Gregory was not appointed.² On 17th July, the last day White is recorded to have been in the Assembly, they presented another petition with a certificate signed by persons who "had made a free choice and election"³ of John Rawlinson of Abchurch; a draft ordinance of the Lords gives his appointment,⁴ but some difficulty must have arisen as on 21st January, 1646/7, they prayed for his appoint-

¹ *House of Lords Journals*, VIII. p. 331.

² Gregory had obtained the sequestration of Camberwell 11th August, 1643. The Lords referred the matter of his fitness for Lambeth to the Assembly the same day as the petition was received, and the Assembly signified their approval in June. [Mitchell, *Minutes of the Assembly*, p. 239.]

³ *House of Lords Journals*, VIII. p. 435.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V. p. 662.

ment "in the room of Mr. White of Dorchester, who is now called home to his people."⁵

Probably at "the call of his people" White returned to Dorchester in the early autumn of 1646, for on 19th November he signed certificates as one of the "Tryers" for Dorset.⁶ He had never severed his connexion with his first parish, always accounting himself "Mr. White of Dorchester", and in 1647 declaring he had been pastor there for forty-two years, as if there had been no break in the continuity of his pastorate through his residence in London and his Rectorship of Lambeth. His eldest son, John, seems to have acted as his *locum tenens*.

Far removed from the turmoil of London, White must have watched from his quiet parsonage with consternation the course of events; his sympathies were wholly with the Presbyterians and when he left London that party seemed to be marching to a triumph, but ere long the Independents obtained control of the Army, with dire results, for the withdrawal of the Scots from England, the *coup d'état* at Holmby House and then the overawing of Parliament dashed the Presbyterians' hopes. Vivid glimpses of passing events would have reached him through the eyes of Holles, his friendly parishioner and the leader of the Presbyterian party in the House,—the advance of the Independents step by step, blow after blow inflicted upon the liberty of Parliament, men long closely associated with White deserting the Presbyterian cause—then, finally, the defection of Stephen Marshall, always believed by Baillie too favourably disposed towards the Dissenting Brethren. Holles would have described Marshall, as he had seen him, standing at the doors of Parliament, cajoling or threatening the members to comply with the Army's demands, forgetful of the Presbyterian cause he had formerly upheld so long and zealously. White would have listened to Holles's bitter diatribes against Cromwell, Fairfax and the rest, to an account of the pusillanimous conduct of

⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII. p. 680. Rawlinson did not remove to Lambeth until the following March. *Ibid.*, VIII. p. 680.

⁶ Mayo, *Dorset Standing Committee*, p. 71.

the Parliamentary Presbyterians when overawed by Cromwell's threats, as well as to that of the treatment to be applied to the eleven offending members, the more vividly described as Holles was one of the number who were to be dragged forth by the ears—an intention only thwarted, he believed, because they saved the situation by asking leave to withdraw from Parliament with permission to pass beyond seas.⁷

What particulars he learned of the Scots' negotiation with the King and their break with their Presbyterian brethren in the House we can only imagine, but there can be little doubt that amid the kaleidoscopic changes, his vision of a rebuilt Jerusalem dissolved; possibly he kept in touch with friends in the north and heard some echo of Baillie's words at a later date, when there seemed a prospect that "the cursed army of Sectaries should evanish in smoke and their friends in the House, City and Country be brought to their well-deserved ruin," but Baillie feared that even under such improved conditions "the glorious reformation we have suffered so much for, shall be endangered and the most that shall be obtained be but an Erastian weak Presbyterie, with a tolleration of Popery and Episcopacy at Court and of divers sects elsewhere," yet he piously concludes, "the Lord can easily disappoint our fears."⁸

While these alternations of hopes and fears, due to great events in the outer world, were taking place, Dorset was by no means a peaceful spot untouched by excitements; Royalist and Parliamentary forces marched and counter-marched across it, and the predominance of one party or the other disclosed their sympathizers. Dorchester itself, that nest of sedition, had been affected so that when White returned he found himself in a less congenial

⁷ See *Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles*, p. 128. He also describes an occasion when Fairfax had a chair placed in either house and had speeches made to him, and shortly after was a day of Thanksgiving "appointed and fitted with preachers, Mr. Marshall, & Mr. Nye, Simeon and Levi, where they say Marshall outwent all that had gone before him and his Brother Nye was a modest Presbyterian in comparison of him; but that Apostate went beyond Eli making this deliverance a greater one than the Gunpowder Treason." p. 168.

⁸ *Letters*, III. p. 51.

atmosphere. "Factions and fond opinions," writes Fuller, "had crept in his flock, a new generation, which either did not know or would not acknowledge the good man, disloyal persons which would not pay the respect to the Crown of his old age, whereof he was sadly and silently sensible."⁹

Rumours of Royalist plots were rife, suspicious meetings, under the guise of football-matches, cudgel-playing, etc., boastings of sudden uprisings, expressions of exasperation against Parliament, even "truncheons with iron starts and staves with dagger blades affixed were made, the disbanded soldiers were so abused that they went in hazard of their lives."¹⁰ Some styling themselves the surviving inhabitants of the despised and distracted County of Dorset" even presented a petition to Parliament, requiring the return of the King to power, the renewal of their liberties, the investigation of financial affairs and the settlement of Church government by a new Assembly of Divines, that "this synod that has sat so long to so little purpose may be sent home to their lectures and the four shillings per diem conferred on those who have more need of it,"¹¹—a direct attack on White. *Mercurius Aulicus*, the Royalist news-writer, gleefully records:—"From Dorchester we understand good news of the loyal party there, who now begin to express themselves for the King and cry out for Common Prayer, and for setting the King on his throne and for establishment of known laws, and for suppressing of heresies, blasphemies and the like, which makes the Holy Brethren of Dorchester cry out against them,"¹² the "Holy Brethren" being White and Benn, the latter's restoration to the citizens being accounted by White as a great mercy.

It is said by "W. P.," the publisher of the Assize Sermon, that

... *Worthies of England*, II. p. 233.

¹⁰ British Museum, *Tract*, 8138 aaa 15. See Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 347.

¹¹ *Tanner MS.* 53, f. 45, quoted by A. R. Bayley, *Civil War in Dorset*, p. 349.

¹² *Mercurius Aulicus*, 2nd March to 30th March, 1648, British Museum, 110. C. 63. p. 526.

the pastor preached a sermon in defence of the Parliament and that his present opinions were "point blank opposite" to those he had aforetime inculcated in his parishioners—actually "antipodes" to his former doctrines, such as maintenance of the King, obedience to Bishops, and that the Prayer Book was an inspired volume.¹³

In spite of the opinions of a group of citizens more vociferous than numerous, White continued to be admired and respected by many. As a member of the Assembly of Divines he possessed a prestige amongst the Puritans of the County and was appointed one of the three or four "godly Divines" who acted as "Tryers" for the Dorset Standing Committee, to select suitable persons to officiate in sequestered livings, and twice he was called upon to act as arbitrator to deal with very delicate cases.

After his return to Dorchester his physical sufferings were aggravated by financial difficulties. The value of the three livings there was "very meagre" so, by Parliamentary ordinance, on 6th January, 1646/7, the Standing Committee was empowered to grant money arising from Dean and Chapter lands and sequestered parsonages,—50^{li} to each of the three livings at Dorchester and 60^{li} for a weekly lecturer. At the head of a list of needy ministers, approved by the Tryers as "honest, godly, orthodox and paynfull in their places," they put John White and William Benn.¹⁴ But even the additional money received was not considered sufficient, so the Lords passed an ordinance on 2nd December, granting further augmentation of White's livings.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the Corporation, recognizing his necessity and infirmity, on 6th October, 1647, agreed to allot 200^{li} from Fordington parsonage, for which they were negotiating, for "an assistant minister in the two higher parishes to ease Mr. White in his weakness."¹⁶ Soon after, spurred by the fear of losing him al-

¹³ See above, p. 289.

¹⁴ Mayo, *Dorset Standing Committee*, pp. 153, 182. White would have received the sums for both St. Peter's and Holy Trinity; no reference to a lecturer has been found.

¹⁵ *Lords' Journals*, IX. 550, 553.

¹⁶ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 601.

together, they made further efforts on his behalf, for the Wardenship of New College, formerly held by his great-uncle, falling vacant by the appointment to the see of Bath and Wells of Arthur Lake, White's friend, it was proposed to offer the post to the Patriarch. That College, although in Laud's time possessing a Puritanical reputation, had so completely changed its point of view—we read of certain loyal members of the College celebrating the Prince's birthday by a "Bonafier on the Mount in the College Walk,"¹⁷—that the Parliamentary Visitors could not trust the Fellows and therefore inhibited them from electing a Warden. The Fellows sought the good offices of Lord Say and his son Nathaniel Fiennes, as Founder's Kin, to obtain for them a free election. They were informed that "they might proceed to an election provided that they chose Mr. John White, (known now by the name of the Patriarch of Dorchester) but if not, but another, it should be questioned." To support this Lord Say, on 12th May, wrote "in commendation of Mr. White, wherein 'twas intimated, that many things upon his election might continue undiscovered that would cast earth upon them, and his lordship well hoped they would think him a happy instrument, etc. Upon which some of the Fellows (as 'tis said) inclined towards Mr. White but the generality, taking the matter in indignation, laid him aside,"¹⁸ with the result that Dr. Stringer was elected instead. Although White's health would have prevented him from acting effectively in that capacity the honour conferred by the suggestion would have been appreciated by him.

The news of his candidature was conveyed, probably at Lord Say's instance, to Dorchester and caused consternation in the hearts of his friends; they had but recently drawn their esteemed minister from London and now it was proposed that he should go to Oxford. To induce him to remain the Corporation was importuned to expedite the purchase of Fordington parsonage. The very day of Lord Say's reply to the Fellows of New College, 12th

¹⁷ Rait, *New College*, p. 170.

¹⁸ Wood, *Antiquities of Oxford*, II. p. 533, 538.

November, the Corporation record states:—"Whereas the warden of new colege being dead & a new warden being to be chosen, there is great doubt that Mr Jo: White, our minister, is to be chosen; and therefore to prevent it and to farther the busines about fford-ington Parsonage that the Towne send Mr Benne and one of the company wth him to labor in the busines. On the same day it was agreed "that on Monday next at eight of the Clocke in the morning, this Company be desired to be all here present, and to make choice of an Assistant Minister to helpe Mr. White in his weaknesse."

It was not until 7th January following that a man to White's liking was approached. The records state that "this Company vpon conference that Mr. White our minister having already declared Mr. fford minister now of Piddletown to bee his assistant in the ministry in Trinity and Peters parishes, to which we do freely consent, we doe agree to move the comon Counsell & to acquaint them therewith to gett their approbation. And that his allowance shall begin from our Lady Day next by w^{ch} time wee hope he may be brought hither." On the 24th they further agreed "that the two upper parishes be enformed to-morrow at the evening sermon of Mr. White's motion to this Company whether they approve of Mr. fford of Pudletowne to be an Assistant to him in this Towne. And this being don that a letter be written to Mr. fford of their choosing of him."

The minister selected, Simon Ford, had been intruded into the living of Puddletown and held the lectureship at Shaftesbury; with White he had acted as one of the Dorset "Tryers." Whether he declined or whether his sermons did not prove eloquent enough for the Corporation is unknown, but apparently he did not come to Dorchester, so, on 12th May, 1648, they ordered that "Mr. White and Mr. Ben bee desired to take course that on euery Sabboth day in morning, when Mr. White shall be vnable to preach himsele, that Mr. Ben may preach at Peter's Church, where this Company are for the most part, which wee vnderstand also will giue

very great satisfaction to the Towne in general.”¹⁹ Again on 23rd June they record:—“Upon the failing of Mr. White’s quarterly paym^{ts} from the parishioners of Trinity & Peters the same not making vp the somme of fowerscore pounds per annum, which was the summe designed for his additional mayntenance . . . the Steward [of Fordington is] to pay vnto Mr. White the fiteene pounds [quarterly] . . . until there shall be an assistant minister brought in place.”²⁰ But by this time White’s sands were running out and this provision proved of no avail. Later they further testified their appreciation of their deceased pastor by their method of choosing a successor a fortnight after his death. A day of humiliation and prayer was set apart that they might “seek unto God for direction for choice of a minister in place of Mr. John Wite, the late deceased minister.”²¹ Thomas Ford of St. Lawrence’s, Exeter, was first approached with a generous offer of salary and a parsonage, but did not accept. Mr. Stanley Gower had also been tentatively suggested, and in October Mr. Benn was desired to ride to the Isle of Wight “to have conference with Mr. Marshall, Mr. Charell, Mr. Vynes and Mr. Seaman of the Assembly, now at Newport about the Treaty,”²² to know their judgments concerning Mr. Gower’s abilities and fitness to succeed Mr. White in this town”, desiring a full testimony concerning him and what likelihood there was of persuading him to remove from his present post in London.²³

In spite of the difficulties and anxieties surrounding him, during the brief period between his return to Dorchester and his demise White attempted to complete the literary work he had already be-

¹⁹ For this and the above quotations see Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 602. I have used Mr. Moule’s notes which vary slightly in spelling.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 603.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 604.

²² These were of the company of Divines sent down to explain to the King the ecclesiastical requirements set forth in the proposition for a treaty.

²³ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 604. On 4th July, 1651, Mr. Gower and Mr. Whiteway were asked to ride to Salisbury with Mr. Benn, about obtaining the services of Mr. Cox as master of the Free School. p. 571.

gun. He had the satisfaction of publishing his "last legacy" to his parishioners, "The Way to the Tree of Life." This he dedicated to the Borough authorities in a letter containing many autobiographical items and with morals drawn from the course of events during "neere two and forty yeares (wherein I have continued amongst you.)" He begs the townsfolk to accept this volume, "such as it is, as your own, that you may so entertaine and embrace it, so use, husband and employ it to your best advantage, as we use to doe those things that are our own;" he leaves it as a memorial of his tender affection. The truths in it he has already delivered to them; he urges them to study God's Word "not prepossessed with any opinion, which we have either framed in our own phantasy, or received from others. . . . The publishing of this Treatise is, by the Providence of God, cast into the last of my daies, perhaps, that you might lay neerer to your hearts and more heedfully remember the last words and counsels of your dying Pastor," and that "being dead I may yet speak unto you."

He reminds them that lately they had been reduced to a sad condition, "not only you suffered the spoiling of your goods but your very lives did hang in doubt before you, and you feared day and night, having no assurance of your lives." While the memory of these experiences continues they should watch more carefully their ways that they provoke not the Lord hereafter to pour out his indignation in some more fearful judgment. Already His hand had been heavy upon them but there were many mercies; not only preservation from the enemy's sword, but in the last years "the Pestilence which brake in upon you severall times and by severall waies, yet gleaned only a few amongst you here and there at that time, when some other Townes were almost layd wast by the same stroak of God's hand . . . againe, though your estates were wasted, yet your dwellings were preserved, that you might not be as Sodome, or like unto Gomorrah, as some other places are; as it was often threatened, and as often really intended by your enemies, and had questionles been accordingly executed, had not the Lord

. . . miraculously prevented it." Esteem not this the least of God's favours that "although your Teachers have been driven into corners, yet they have been preserved for your farther service, and are now restored to you in safety." The lack of them may prove useful, as making God's ordinance better valued hereafter. In the losses of outward estates, "(which considering how long you were in the enemies hand were less than most other Townes have felt) if you suffer any hurt thereby you have none to blame but yourselves. . . . I know what carnall reason will suggest, that it stands you upon to bee now more earnest in labouring with all diligence to repaire your losses; and it grieves my heart to see, that this counsel prevails so much with many." He reminds them of the great losses by fire thirty-four years before, and the raising of funds for rebuilding the town and establishing the Hôpital. In like manner let them embrace the present opportunity. "Say not with the people, The time is not come, that the Lords house should be built: Things of publike concernment ought to be our first and chiefest care" which if we labour to set forward the Lord will "prosper our private affairs."

Many quotations have already been made from the text of this volume, but one more point should be mentioned—the exclusion of the ungodly from the Sacrament—as it indicates that he had in some measure changed his views since he wrote the "Ten Vows", and that even to the last his mind was occupied with this matter, for which he laboured so earnestly in the Assembly.

This volume indeed proved a last exhortation to his people and, feeling the hand of God upon him, in the spring of 1648 he also prepared his last will, which opens with these characteristic words:—"Imprimis, I doe wth all humble reverence and thankfulness acknowledge and adore y^t infinite goodnes and mercie of God whoe hath bine pleased to sett me apart vnto this greate worke of the ministry of his Gospell in such a place where I haue found his gracious hand wth mee that my Labo^{rs} haue bine well accepted and produced such effects as I haue cause to looke vppon wth my [much] comfort and thanckfull acknowledgm^t and hath borne mee vpp wth

his owne hand in despite of y^e power and malice of those that haue endeavoured as much as lay in them to hinder mee in my Course. 2^{ly} ffor the people wherein he hath intrusted mee, I bequeath vnto them those truthes That I haue from time to time deliuered vnto them as the Counsell of God in y^e bowells of Jesus Christ, beseechinge them that they soe adhere and cleave vnto them as the grounds of their faith and rules of their practice and suffer not themselues to bee carried vpp and downe wth every winde of Doctrine w^{ch} howsoever seemingly plausable at y^e first view by the novelty thereof will certainly prove a meanes in time of vnsetling of them from the maine foundation and this I lay vppon them as my stricter charge of the observation thereof they shall give an accompt to Christ Jesus at the last day. As for my outward estate w^{ch} the Lord hath intrusted mee wthall as it is but small and therefore most agreeable to mine owne desires soe I am in that respect troubled at nothinge more then that I want meanes to testifie my thanckfull acknowledgement of the favor^{rs} and hono^{rs} w^{ch} I haue receaved from this people in the space of forty three yeares wherein God hath bine pleased to continue mee Minister amongst them.”²⁴

It is pleasant to think of the Patriarch in his latter days, pacing the quiet, familiar streets, encountering, it is true, strange faces and hearing displeasing remarks, yet receiving cordial and respectful greetings from old friends—nearly every passer-by knew and respected his venerable person and recalled the great benefits he had been instrumental in obtaining for the town. With becoming reverence his congregation listened to his sermons, preached from the beautifully carved pulpit of St. Peter’s, surmounted at this time by a sounding-board that his enfeebled voice might the better reach them. From that vantage ground he had “expounded the Scriptures all over and half over again and in that manner of clearly and solidly interpreting them again.”²⁵ Or, when bodily infirmity confined him to the picturesque old Parsonage, with

²⁴ P. C. C. 105 Fairfax.

²⁵ Fuller, *Worthies*, II. p. 232.



DOORWAY OF ST. PETER'S RECTORY

Dorchester

From a water colour sketch by the late H. J. Moule

its mullioned windows, arched door-way and with a courtyard between it and the street, he would have occupied himself, when not listening to the spiritual and other difficulties of his parishioners, with work upon his translation and versification of the Psalms, or on his *Three First Chapters of Genesis*.

Old friends foregathered here—students from distant lands, returned New Englanders, bringing tales of wonder from the colony, Puritan divines reporting ecclesiastical affairs as well as old residents recalling the earlier days of his ministry, among the latter Edmund Dashwood, thrice mayor of Dorchester, who bequeathed “to our Pastor, Mr. John White, a gown, desiring him to preach my funeral sermon,”²⁶ a request unfulfilled as he survived his pastor. Similarly had their Rector been remembered by the two William Whiteways, father and son, whose departure he must have sorely lamented, though a surviving member of that family, John, brother of the Diarist, would have been a frequent guest—he had married the Patriarch’s niece, Mary White, and while mayor had been instrumental in obtaining the augmentation of White’s slender income, a faithful friend to the end, witnessing his pastor’s last will.

A frequent visitor was his physician, Frederick Losse, to whom White bequeathed “one piece of my plate such as my foure sons by ioynt consent shall think fitt as an acknowledgement of his faithful love and great paines and care that he hath taken about mee.” One day the worthy doctor was summoned in haste to find the Patriarch still alive but presently to be “called to a better life by the great Arbiter of life.”

“In this excellent man no distortion of countenance was seen, no difficulty of breathing was heard,” but “whether he was taken from amongst us by a violent and acute apoplexy, or by some

²⁶ Concerning this will a curious story is told—that it was taken to London by the testator’s son-in-law, Dr. Bury, but in the confusion of those times he forgot what he did with it; all he remembered was that he had left it in the hands of “some belonging to the Prerogative Court.” In a law-suit that ensued affidavits were made concerning a copy.

catarrh suddenly causing suffocation or by a cold syncope" was uncertain, though Losse was inclined to think that death was due to something that impeded the circulation of the blood; "for if this be hindered either in the *torcular Herophile*²⁷ or in the ventricles of the heart, according to Paul, the same thing occurs in the Microcosm as in the Macrocosm when the earth comes between the sun and moon, and so to say, a kind of eclipse takes place, which is necessarily followed sooner or later by death."²⁸

After such manner, on 21st July, 1648, the Patriarch of Dorchester, in the mediæval phrase, migrated from the light of this world to that of another.

The funeral took place three days later, without ostentation, as he wished. "As for my funeral expenses, as I never liked the affected solemnities thereof, soe I require that there be order taken by my executor, that as much as may be my ffunerall may be solemnized wth all privacy w^{thout} any sermon or ringing of bells." No pompous services nor lengthy sermon was in harmony with his love of simplicity, yet the Church was filled, doubtless, by friends and neighbours as well as clergy from a distance, who watched him laid to rest in the South Porch of St. Peter's Church, which was draped with black at the expense of the Corporation as a mark of respect.²⁹ Here, where the feet of his parishioners would pass over his head, each Sabbath day or on the occasions of joy or mourning, he was laid and many would have been reminded of their revered pastor, a true Shepherd of Souls, who rested as if he would say with the Psalmist, "I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness."

²⁷ "The meeting place of certain vessels at the base of the brain." Paul, or Pol, was an ancient physician.

²⁸ Frederick Losse, *Observationum medicinalium libri quatuor*, 1672, No. xv. p. 35. Losse obtained his degree at Heidelberg in the Palatinate and may have been one of the refugees settled in Dorchester. See p. 44.

²⁹ The Corporation ordered the distribution of 5*li* to the poor in Mr. White's name and that "Mr. Savage doe cause the porch to be hung with black at the funerall and for one month after, and yf it be stolen, the Company will satisfy him for it." Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 604.

Fuller's words concerning him seem prophetic, "I hope that Solomon's observation of 'the poor wise man, who saved the little City yet no man remembered him' will not be verified of this Town in relation to this their deceased Pastor, whom I hope they will not, I am sure they should not, forget as a person so much meriting of them all considerations."³⁰ To the shame of intervening generations, no inscribed stone or tablet marked his resting place until two and a half centuries later, in 1902, when a memorial was placed on the wall near at hand, through the exertions of a worthy son of Dorchester.³¹

³⁰ *Worthies of England*, II. p. 233.

³¹ The late H. J. Moule.

CHAPTER XXIX

JOHN WHITE'S KINSFOLK

"He had a hospitable heart, a generous disposition, free from covetousness; and was always confident in God's providence, that if he should die, his children would be provided for."

THOMAS FULLER.

TO judge from the information obtainable, John White was truly patriarchal in gathering his kinsfolk, even to a remote degree, around him in Dorchester; the widows of his brothers and his widowed sisters found homes in or near his parish—no doubt they trusted to his wisdom and example in rearing their children and to his influence in setting them out in the world, so we see him surrounded, like a Patriarch of old, by his children, sisters, sisters-in-law, nephews, nieces and even younger generations, yet, owing to the loss of his letters and papers, little is known of his domestic life. To his wife only one reference has been found—on the back of a letter is scribbled, among sundry expenses, "wife 5s".¹ She is mentioned in the will of her sister-in-law, Mary Terry, in 1637, but her name does not occur in her husband's will, so it may be assumed that she died before 1648—possibly she was buried in some London church² during his absence from Dorchester.

White's description of a perfect wife and the reciprocal duties of a husband are set forth in his writings; how far in his case

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I. 297, No. 27.

² One wonders whether she was at Lambeth; she is not mentioned in the account of the midnight visitation of the Devil nor does Lauderdale refer to her in connexion with the story of the domestic. [See below p. 397.]

the requirements were fulfilled it is impossible to say. A wife should be a strong helper to her husband, neither his Lord nor his vassal, beloved as his own flesh, yet governed with great moderation and respect as the weaker vessel; advanced to rule and exercise authority under him at home, honoured and respected abroad; the second pillar that supports his family to whom he may trust the overseeing of his household, instructing of his children, comforting him in all his distresses; the companion of his labours, the partaker of all his hopes. "Ministers of the Gospel might well be eased of the care of their families by their wives and be more free to attend the Church's services;" foolish wives pluck down the house that they should build, proving moths in their husbands' estates by their idleness and wastefulness. It is to be hoped that Anne White proved the "perfect wife" he described.

They were blessed with four sons—there is no record of any daughters though writers have assigned two to him.³

Their eldest son, John, baptized at Stockton, Wilts, on 27th December, 1607, studied for the ministry, though his residence at Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin has not been discovered; nor has his signature to the Articles been found, though that would have been necessary before he received a benefice. His appointment to the living of Pimperne, Dorset, was sanctioned by Parliament on 7th July, 1646—shortly before his father's last appearance in the Assembly—but there is some ground for thinking he had been at least curate-in-charge there, serving it with the Dorchester parishes during his father's absence.⁴ Calamy states that "he was obliged to quit this living at the Restoration; between which time and Bartholomew-day, 1662, he sometimes assisted Mr. Lamb at Bere Regis. He was a man of eminent piety and of exemplary

³ See below p. 393.

⁴ Hutchins indicates that his name occurs in the registers of Pimperne from 1642 to 1650. The Rev. A. R. Dittmer, the present rector, kindly informs me that he has carefully examined the existing registers, those from 1646 to 1660 are now missing, and that the handwriting from 26th November, 1643, to November 1646, is uniform.

conversation.”⁵ In the Bodleian Library are notes on sermons, attributed to him, with an inscription on the fly-leaf:—“My Father on Zachary.” They are dated, almost weekly, on “Sab”, [for Sabbath or Saturday?], from “7^{mo} 13^o 1640” to “1^{mo} 28^o 1640”, [1640/1 ?] and begin again on 31st December, 1643, and run to 21st January 1643/4, ending with one on 7th April, 1644; the last two were delivered, apparently, during brief visits to Dorchester, as they fit in between dates when the Patriarch is recorded to have been elsewhere. Other rough notes, with the above but on smaller folios, are of sermons by “Mr. Mather, Dorch.”, also on Zachary; the dates run irregularly from March to 5th October, 1645,⁶—probably these were given by Nathaniel Mather, son-in-law of William Benn. No record has been found of the marriage or death of the younger John White.

Samuel White, their second son, a goldsmith in Dorchester, married first Sarah, daughter of Edward Cuttance of Weymouth, and had a daughter Hester;⁷ by his second wife he had two children, Anne and Samuel. He died about 1661.⁸

Josiah White,⁹ their third son, was a merchant of Dorchester and Rouen,¹⁰ and is doubtless to be identified with the Josiah White

⁵ *Nonconformists Memorial*, II. p. 145.

⁶ *Rawlinson MS.* D. 1350, No. 9. fol. 158 *et seq.*

⁷ *Visitation of Hampshire, 1634, Harleian MS.* 544, f. 223. British Museum

⁸ In 1640 he agreed to work upon the Town maces; part payment was made to him (?) on 18th January, 1660/1, and a further payment to his wife on 4th October, 1661. Money was advanced to her by individual Councillors on 26th April, 1661; [See Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 466] although she is “wife” in these entries she appears as “widow” at the burial of their daughter Anne in St. Peter’s in 1662; it seems probable that Samuel died in 1661. I acknowledge with thanks Rev. R. G. Bartelot’s kindness in supplying these and other entries from the Dorchester Registers.

⁹ *Visitation, ut Supra.* The name is Josiah, not Josias. The patriarch spelt his brother’s name Josiah also. In 1617 the sons of John White, John and Josiah with Dorothy Ashley, daughter of Francis Ashley, were named as the three lives in the lease of the tithes of Walterston. Mayo, *Municipal Records* p. 621.

¹⁰ See letter from Dr. Twisse, written in 1640 to Archbishop Usher, where he mentions that White had a son who was a “marchant at Roan.” *Tenner MS.* 65, f. 83.

resident in Dorchester in 1652/3, who was "Receiver for the Commissioners at Goldsmith's Hall," receiving money on their account at his house in Dorchester.¹¹ He married Margery, daughter of Nicholas Hallett of Bradpole, by whom he had a son, John, before 1634. He may have married secondly and have been the father of two children, Josiah, aged three weeks and six days, and Sara, aged eight days,¹² baptized in Holy Trinity in 1653/4 and 1656. Administration was granted on his estate in 1674.

Nathaniel White, their fourth and youngest son, described as "Captain", and not married in 1634,¹³ is said to have been in Captain Joyce's troop, which hotly pursued Charles II after Worcester. He appears to have contracted heavy debts.¹⁴ As executor of his father's meagre estate¹⁵ his name occurs frequently;¹⁶ Parliament ordered payment to him of 356^{li} 16^s 2^d, with interest, on 21st September, 1648, for his father's attendance on the Assembly of Divines and monies disbursed in the service of Parliament.¹⁷ The Corporation in February, 1651/2, ordered the payment of 3^{li} 9^s 1^d, "the balance of his father's account, due from the Brewhouse, which he delivered in unto this Company. And out of our respects to his father and the family it is ordered that he shall have given out of the Brewhouse . . . the sum of five pounds and more, as a boon at his departure towards Garnesay;"¹⁸ so ex-

¹¹ Bullen Reymes made such payment, *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, IV. p. 305.

¹² These may have been children of his son Josiah.

¹³ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 466.

¹⁴ In 1647 two merchants released all actions against him, his brothers Samuel and Josiah and his cousin William being witnesses. Mayo, *Ibid.*, p. 371.

¹⁵ The Patriarch was in straightened circumstances at the time of his death; the Corporation granted 5^{li} to be distributed to the poor in his name.

¹⁶ He received tithes etc., in the interim before the appointment of a successor, paid his brother Samuel for expenses incurred for "supplies" of the pulpit during that period, etc. Mayo, *Ibid.* pp. 603-5.

¹⁷ *Commons Journals*, VI. p. 26. From the Minutes of the Assembly of Divines it appears that on 22nd August, 1648, the Scribe was ordered to give a certificate of the receipts and arrears of Mr. White, late a member of this Assembly. Mitchell, p. 530.

¹⁸ Mayo, *Municipal Records*, p. 527.

pressed as to hint relief at his proposed emigration. From this date all trace of him is lost in local records, but somewhat earlier, on 7th May, 1649, he was engaged in a Chancery Suit against John Galpin, now of Durweston, clerk,¹⁹ who, in 1635, had a lawsuit concerning the Rectory of Portisham.²⁰ He had "opened his trouble" to John White, who lent him 60^{li} and more, 50^{li} of which he borrowed from Mr. Sydenham, and Galpin gave a bond for this sum. But in 1643, during the late war "in which the late Kinges party haveing greate strength in the County of Dorset, where they seized upon a great number of books, manuscripts of Divinity, evidences, writings and other goods, which were your orator's fathers of greate valew amongst which goods, etc. the bond of John Galpin was also taken." Some of these papers were given or sold to "one Clerke a minister and in armes against the Parleament," doubtless Roger Clarke, Prebendary of Sarum and Rector of Ashmore and of Tolpuddle, Dorset, who "fled to Oxford and betook himself to the army under Lord Hopton."²¹ Soon after, Galpin and Clarke, meeting in Dorchester, made a bargain whereby Galpin obtained the writing obligatory for twenty shillings, as he admitted, but he refused to pay the sum due to Nathaniel White, who in this suit, by the way, styles himself merchant. The full amount claimed was "85^{li} or thereabouts."²²

A reference to the pedigree will show that in the next generation only three children could have lived to maturity, Hester and Samuel, children of Samuel White, and John, son of Josiah, but it has been impossible to trace these, hence there is no evidence that any descendant of the Patriarch is still living.²³

¹⁹ See Calamy, *Nonconformists Memorial*, II. p. 129.

²⁰ See Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*.

²¹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii, p. 66. Quite probably he was the Mr. Clarke of Dorset concerning whom John White was called upon to give evidence before the Committee for Scandalous Ministers in 1641.

²² *Chancery Bills & Answers* before 1714, Mitford 314/118.

²³ There was a Josias White "belonging to the ship *Thomas and Francis* in the service of the Duke of Venice beyond seas, bachelor," who died 25th December, 1649; administration was granted on his nuncupative will on 6th April, 1658,

A brief note concerning the Patriarch's brothers seems fitting.

Josias, the eldest of all, preceded John at Winchester and New College, of which latter he was Fellow from 1594 to 1611, in which year he became Vicar of Hornchurch, Essex. He married Ann Barlow of Petersfield²⁴ and had four sons. He died at Hornchurch in February, 1622/3. He contributed to Sir Thomas Bodley's Library in 1608 a collection of a dozen manuscript lectures by Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits written between 1585 and 1600, at Evera in Portugal,²⁵ a curious contribution, for Wood says of him, "he was much frequented by some for his precise and puritanical way of preaching." Josias White wrote "*A Plain and Familiar Exposition upon the Creed, Ten Commandments, Lords Prayer and Sacraments and Sweet Comfort for a Christian being tempted.*"²⁶ His son Josias became Rector of Langton Matravers, Dorset, on the death of his kinsman, John Ball, the patron being the Patriarch's old friend Walter Erle. In his will he desired to be buried at Poole "without Church service read to the Corps," and there he was interred, 10th December, 1643. He left lands at Roxwell, inherited from his father, to his mother Mistress Anne Drake, because "I know not uppon what straightes her old age may be cast, and my brothers being young are better able to shift for themselves."²⁷

John White, second son of Josias, a "merchant adventurer"²⁸

to his shipmate, Francis Lake, the universal legatee. [P. C. C. Wootton, 132] Although the name suggests kinship with our White family the fact that he left his estate to a shipmate when so many relatives were living renders this unlikely.

²⁴ She remarried Francis Drake of Walton, Surrey, and died in 1655.

²⁵ See *Summary Catalogue*, 1951, 1952, 1955, 1965, 1984, 1994, 2160, 2161, 2261, 2241, 2546, 3660. A Commentary on Thomas Aquinas explained by a professor of Coimbra University and several others were written by or belonged to P. Gaspar de Coelho. Perhaps Josias White visited Portugal but withstood the Jesuits' wiles.

²⁶ Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, II. p. 350.

²⁷ P. C. C. 67 Rivers.

²⁸ He brought an action against Robert and John Whetcombe, the former having been a member of the Dorchester Company, for goods supplied while he was a merchant adventurer in Dorchester.

in Dorchester, married before 1634, Mary, daughter of William Derby, and removed to London.

William, the third son, was a merchant in Dorchester, lending 1100^{li} at 8% to the town before 1643. By 1665 he had removed to London and became a grocer. His mother left the Roxwell farm to him, "whome I thincke and have found most serviceable to me."²⁹

James, the youngest son, was in London before 1634, and by 1665 was a merchant in the Isle of Barbadoes.

Steven White, younger brother of the Patriarch, remained at Stanton St. John, succeeding his father as "fermar" of the manor. His widow, Mary, was living in Dorchester in 1648; their daughter, Mary, married John, son of William Whiteway the elder, before 1634 and was buried there 24th July, 1658. John, Steven's son, returned to Stanton St. John,³⁰ but of the other children we know nothing beyond their names.

Mary Terry, John White's sister, widow of John Terry, Rector of Stockton, Wilts, lived in Dorchester, where she died in 1637. It was probably her son, Josiah Terry, haberdasher, a Feoffee of the Free School, who died at Dorchester in 1667.

Martha Cooke's daughter, Elizabeth, married William Walton, curate-in-charge at Seaton, and emigrated with him to New England and left descendants. Nathaniel Cooke, her son, was for a time Usher at the Free School.

Elizabeth Gardner, after her second husband's death, came with some of her children to Dorchester. Her daughter, Katherine, married there in 1633, Caspar Hopf, a refugee from the Palatinate. Josiah Gardner married there Amy Williams, in 1640, and Stephen Gardner had children baptized in 1653 and 1654.

It is well to notice certain positive statements contained in printed books which either lack support of any evidence or else can be completely disproved.

1. That John White had two daughters: a) one married to Ben-

²⁹ P. C. C. 43 Hyde. Two children, Steeven and Anne, baptized in Dorchester in 1654 and 1656 were probably his.

³⁰ See p. 406.

jamin Way. But Way's first wife was Martha, sister of Robert White of West Stafford. b) The other married to John Wesley, becoming the ancestor of John and Charles.³¹ John Wesley of Winterbourne Whitechurch was married about 1656/7—wife's name not given.

John White compiled his pedigree in 1634, giving his four sons, some with children, and a long line of sisters, but no daughters; he married but once, and to have a daughter the mother of her first child about 1657 is unlikely. He had a cousin Mary Perrot who married a William Westley early in the 17th century.

2. That Fuller married White's niece. Fuller's first wife was Eleanor, daughter of Hugh Grove; his second was the Hon. Mary Roper. Neither was related to John White. Fuller was connected with quite a different family of Whites.

3. That James White, merchant of Boston, was his son. He had no son of that name, but his nephew, son of Josias, James White was a merchant in Barbadoes.

4. That Thomas Gardner, the emigrant, was White's nephew. There were three early emigrants of that name, a husbandman from Weymouth, and a father and grown-up son settled at Roxbury before 1638. White's brother-in-law, Thomas Gardner of Cropredy, Oxon, in his will dated 1633, mentions sons, Josias, Stephen and Timothy, but no son Thomas, and several married daughters. The younger Thomas Gardner of Roxbury was born *circa* 1615—his father probably before 1594. Elizabeth was John White's youngest sister and was probably born after 1582, so is unlikely to have been the mother of the elder of these two emigrants at the age of 12 or 14.

5. That John White himself visited New England. There is no ground for believing that he ever set foot in the New World. Late in life—1635—he was still hoping that he might go to New England.

³¹ See Charles Wesley's letter in Stevenson's *Memorials of the Wesley Family*. She is said to have been Fuller's niece.

CHAPTER XXX

JOHN WHITE'S CHARACTER

"He lived sermons, and as his preaching was a comment on his text, so his practice was a comment on his preaching."

THOMAS FULLER ON WILLIAM PERKINS.

IN the stormy times in which White lived people were such violent partizans and spoke out so plainly their opinions of the characters of their contemporaries, that it is not surprising to find a man described as possessing totally different and wholly incompatible characteristics.

The modern accounts of White are, for the most part, based on the biographical sketches of Fuller and of Anthony à Wood, the latter relying to a considerable extent on the former. There is but one abusive epithet applied to White in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*,—where, in the biography of Featley, he is styled "that old instrument of sedition".¹

Fuller, a personal friend, in contact with White both in Dorset and London, ardent Royalist as he was, could see virtues in individual Puritans. He describes White as "a grave man, yet without moroseness as who would willingly contribute his shot of facetiousness on any just occasion. A constant Preacher, that in the course of his Ministry he expounded the Scripture all over and half over again;² having an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpreting thereof. A good Governour, by whose wisdom

¹ *Op. cit.*, III, 160.

² Whiteway enters in December, 1628, "Mr. White began to expound the Bible the second time," and on 9th January, 1634, that he began to expound the Scriptures in Trinity Church every Friday at 10 o'clock. See *Diary*.

the town of Dorchester (notwithstanding a casual merciless fire) was much enriched; Knowledge causing Piety, Piety breeding Industry and Industry procuring Plenty unto it. A Beggar was not to be seen in the Town, all able poore being set on work and impotent maintained by the profit of a publique Brew House and other collections. He absolutely commanded his own passions and the purses of his Parishioners, whom he could wind up to what height he pleased on important occasions. He was free from covetousness, if not trespassing on the contrary and had a patriarchal influence both in Old and in New England."³

Wood, less impartial, says that he was "for the most part of his time a moderate, not morose or peevish puritan, and conformed to the ceremonies of the Church of England before, and when Archb. Laude sate at the stern. But in the beginning of the long parliament, when the saints raised a rebellion, he sided with them, and with his sub-Levites Thompson and Will. Benne, both Oxford students, did in a miserable manner cozen the people thereabouts⁴. . . so that whereas before the rebellion broke out, he by his wisdom, did keep the inhabitants of Dorchester in good order and obedient to the Church, and also proved eminently useful in reforming the dissolute manners of the people thereof, it fell out that after the turn of the times, it was by his means stocked with such a factious and fanatical crew that all endeavours could not reform it, nor ever, as 'tis thought, will, it continuing so to this day. In 1643 he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, took the covenant and sitting often with them at Westminster, showed himself one of the most learned and moderate among them. . . . He was a person of great gravity and presence, and had always influence on the puritanical party near to, and remote from, him, who bore him more respect than they did to their diocesan."⁵

Dr. Twisse, associated with him at Winchester and New College, as well as at the Assembly of Divines, wrote in 1640 to Arch-

³ *Worthies of England*, II. p. 232.

⁴ Here is inserted the quotation from *Mercurius Aulicus* given above p. 316.

⁵ *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, III, 236 *et seq.*

bishop Usher:— “Mr. White of Dorchester, my deare friende & one who hath a good report farre & neare, a man of an Apostolicall spirite & who entertaynes ye care of all Churches, hath intreated me to commend the bearer hereof unto your Grace. . . . I beseech your Grace to heare this Bearers motion & to shewe him . . . favour . . . and y^t he may knowe it is for Mr. Whites sake whose fame for advancing the Gospell is known throughout old Englande to newe.”⁶

Goodwin’s praise has already been quoted,⁷ while another, who eventually went over to the Independents, Stephen Marshall, praised White’s book on *Genesis* in an introductory letter, as “a most excellent, Learned, Judicious and Holy Piece worthy of Mr. White his Heart and Pen.”⁸ Durie, with a wide experience of men, quaintly styles him “a man of action and godliness,”⁹ an unexpected combination. Christopher Jellinger, a foreigner, refers to him as “that famous Minister of Christ” showing his fame had spread through all the Churches—the Continental as well as those in New England.¹⁰

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, an important man in the County, well-acquainted with White, referring to the Puritans, says that “the people of Dorchester were totally devoted to that way, being managed by their parson, Mr. White, one of the wisest and subtlest of that sort of man.”¹¹

We may then account him serious-minded, deeply religious, learned, possessing a high sense of duty, not an austere Puritan who abhorred cheerfulness and looked askance at the most innocent recreations.

⁶ *Tenner MS.* 65, fol. 83 Bodleian Library.

⁷ See above, p. 354.

⁸ Thomas Manton, writing of the same work, refers to the peculiar excellency of our Author, his vindication of doctrine, his apt and pertinent observations, etc.

⁹ *State Papers, Domestic*, 302, No. 63.

¹⁰ *Biographical Sketch of Christopher Jellinger*, p. 16.

¹¹ *Autobiography*, [Christie, *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, Appendix, p. xx.]

His pretty wit is illustrated in Clarke's quaint anecdote, "Master White of Dorchester, being a member of the Assembly of Divines, was appointed Minister of Lambeth; but for the present, could get no convenient house to dwell in, but one that was possessed by the Devil. This he took; and not long after, his maid sitting up late, the Devil appeared to her, whereupon in great fright she ran up to tell her Master: he bid her go to bed, saying: She was well served for sitting up so late. Presently after the Devil appeared to Master White himself, standing at his bed's feet; to whom Master White said, 'If thou hast nothing else to do thou mayest stand there still, and I will betake myself to rest' and accordingly composing himself to sleep, the Devil vanished."¹² Baxter gives the story in a slightly different form:—"the Devil appeared to old Mr. White of the Assembly, opening his bed-curtains in a light night and after waiting awhile whether he would say anything, the clergyman remarked, 'If thou hast nothing else to do, I have,' and turned himself to sleep."¹³ Reminded by Baxter's account, the Earl of Lauderdale gives this reminiscence:—"In Dorchester also, the son of Reverend John White (who was assessor to the Assembly at Westminster) told me many Particulars of that House in Lambeth where his Father lived in the time of the Assembly, which then was unquestionably haunted with Spirits. I do well remember I dined with old Mr. White there one day, and at Dinner he told me much of it, and that that Morning the Spirit called up the Maid to lay the Beef to the Fire."¹⁴

White's house was not the only haunted spot in Lambeth, that resort of astrologers and workers of necromancy, for there dwelt Captain Bubb, Francis Moore of Almanac fame, who kept a school in Calcott Alley,¹⁵ and Simon Forman, an astrologer, who died suddenly in 1611 and left a book in which he had entered, "This I made the Devil write with his own hand in Lambeth Fields."¹⁶ We

¹² Samuel Clarke, *A Mirror or Looking Glass both for Saints and Sinners*.

¹³ *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, p. 8. 1691 ed. British Museum 719 b 27.

¹⁴ *Letters of the Earl of Lauderdale*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, II. p. 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

cannot tell whether Featley's devil was of the Satanic kind, or merely a curate who *devilled* for him in one of his benefices, "a very Reverend able Ten Pound Sir John,"¹⁷ yet Wood recites Featley's experiences with His Satanic Majesty.¹⁸

A description of White's daily round in Dorchester, in a manuscript by an eighteenth century Roman Catholic, has verisimilitude. After an account of Dr. Twisse of New College, he continues:—"Of the same College was Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, at first, and so zealous for the Church of England, that he had prayers every morning at seven o'clock and a lecture wherein he explained the Common prayer, and he went so farr in praise of it, that he said in the Pulpit, that if any booke besides the bible was writ by holy Inspiration it was the Common prayer booke; he persuaded the people also to lay aside for the poore and the Minister the 10th of their gaines, which they were persuaded unto. Every Evening he went to so many houses in the towne to pray with them, catechize them, etc. and thus thro' the whole Towne in order, and still afterwards came a box for a collection for pious uses. To the box were two keys, one he kept, the other a friend of his appointment; he sent about a paper of Vows to be subscribed by such as intended to come to the Lord's Supper, and he proceeded so farr as to denye those that refused to subscribe;¹⁹ this paper was answered by Dr. Ironside, a very learned and worthy neighbour minister, and after Bishop of the Diocese; he preached also a sermon before the Judges of the Assizes vehemently for obedience to the King and Church, which the Judges desired him to print it being In the beginning of these Tumults he went up to London, pretending to print it but there advising with Dr. Sibbs, and the rest of the presbyterian Ministers that sate at London as a Committee for carying on their cause, he was persuaded not to print it; one of the Judges meeting him and telling him that he had spoke to the King to make him a Bishop, he offered to print it, and to do other

¹⁷ *A Sacred Decretal*, British Museum, *Tract*, E. 286, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, III. p. 166.

¹⁹ This is not borne out by Ironside. See above.

things; the Judge at Last told him he was a Knave, and that he had only told him those things to try him; that it were fitting he were punished, etc.; yet the Sermon was printed against his will; when the rebellion broke out, he discovered himself, and was one of the first men to set up Presbitary."²⁰

Mercurius Aulicus, who hated the Puritans, indulged in many bitter gibes at White; the Rector and his sub-Levites cozened the people yet these afterwards turned from their Pastor demanding the return of the King and Prayer Book, which made "the holy Brethren of Dorchester, cry out against them, through the wide portholes of their extended Nostrills that make so pocky a noyse, as if the Whore of Babylon had been encountering with these Zealous Catterwaulers."²¹

Of New England writers may be mentioned Hubbard, who calls him "Mr. White, that famous minister of Dorchester . . . a reverend, learned and holy man," and Mather who styles him "the renowned Mr. White of Dorchester" and "this good man".²²

But the most high-sounding pæan came from his physician, Frederick Losse, though Wood unkindly reminds us it was penned after White bequeathed to him a piece of plate. The Latin may be thus translated:— "The reverend Master John White, the most faithful Pastor and Minister of God's Word at the Church of St. Peter at Dorchester—which is thought to be the *Durotrigum* of the ancients—in whom, besides great learning and keen intellect, a wonderful judgment and also industry, piety and incredible faith, vied with one another."²³

From his own writings we obtain many vivid glimpses of his characteristics, his philosophy, his personality and his aptness of

²⁰ *Rawlinson MS.* 158, f. 176. Bodleian Library. The writer of this appears to have read W. P.'s introduction to White's Assize Sermon.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 468, 566, 789. British Museum *Tract*, 110 c 63. From him Wood copied the description of White as "that old instrument of sedition."

²² Hugh Peter refers to his friend Mr. White of Dorchester who was instrumental with Bishop Lake in rescuing heathen Indians.

²³ Frederici Lossius, *Observationibus Medicinali*, London, 1672, lib. I. Obs. XV. p. 35.

illustrations, but it is difficult to convey these impressions to others without copious quotations. He knows how to value his fellowmen, recognizes that often when seeming to make sacrifices for the public good and they aim only at some personal advantage and certain, under cover of "reasons of state", scheme for private gain. Men seeking God should begin by exercising self-denial; "they that will put the ship under saile must first weigh their anchors." Diversity of gifts and inequalities of man exist. "Where are they that desire parity? Are we not all creatures? . . . yet we see the greatest part of men are transported with that vain humour," we are "unquiet in our own condition because we are not the matches of other men, wherein if we could attain our desires we would be as much troubled because we were not their superiors;" he condemns sternly the evil of Discontent, "the daughter of Pride and Self-love." He finds divine authority for thrift, for God teaches us to make provision for posterity, finding use in this for the preservation of "Community"—and we should deliver in the same good condition what we have received. Common prudence is a high virtue; had not Solomon esteemed "it a sore vanity" not to enquire the ends and means before beginning to act?

Puritan and stickler for religious observances as he was, he warns men against relying upon "outward acts of holy duties" while lacking the inward spirit. Though "food convenient will content," he does not oppose feasting on proper occasions,—marriages, births of children, entertaining of friends, holy feasting,—and "Rulers and men of abilities and large estates are permitted to make provision for their tables according to their places."

While conjectures as to rain are permissible, forecasting events by the stars is unlawful, but he rightly makes use of his own scientific knowledge; turning to astronomy he points to the glory of the sun, moon and stars, "the ornaments of God's throne," to which, "if we compare these beggarly shows of blazing lights of torches and tapers, wherewith the Princes of this world set out their palaces by night and grace their persons . . . we shall find just cause to smile in our thoughts at the baseness and beggary

of humane glory. Though the heavenly torches do but enhance the glory of the Creator yet, if we are to believe astronomers, the least fixed star is many times bigger than the whole earth"—the sun, they say, is "164 times bigger." Our corrupt nature takes fire by contact with sin "as gunpowder doth by any spark that falls into it, or rather of itself draws towards it, as iron doth towards the adamant."

He points to "the beauty of the flowers, of the feathers of the ostrich, the strength and courage of the horse, much more the wisdom of men which God puts into their inward parts," and the curious power of the beasts, as the wings of the birds, the "fines" of the fish whereby they "slide" through the water, even the dog is useful to watch the house or for sport.

Nor is practical wisdom lacking; his theory of establishing a refuge for Puritans upon solid foundations, men of all sorts of abilities being required to build and maintain it, he sets forth in the *Planters Plea*. In fact he was no mere "dreamer of dreams", though his desire for a peaceful haven overseas where men could worship God without interference by superior authorities, was never fulfilled, and his vision of a rebuilt Jerusalem at home came no nearer accomplishment.

APPENDIX I

JOHN WHITE'S PEDIGREE

The pedigree here given is based upon that drawn up by John White of Dorchester, preserved in the Hampshire Visitation, dated 1634, in Harleian MS. 1544, ff. 223^d, 224. To it is attached this certificate:—"This is a True Coppie of the Pedigree Arms and Crest of John White of Dorchester the which also belongs to Johsiah White of Hornchurch in the County of Essex being Elder Brother to the said John White as it was attested & Subscribed under the hand of Will. Ryley Lancaster Herrauld at Arms." This is traced back only to "John White of Timsbury in the County of Hampshire, discended of a younger brother of White of Southwicke in the County of Hampshire." It gives the names and marriages of the sons and daughters of John and Isabell White and those of the children of John, Josiah, and Steven White, as well as such of their children as were then living.

The pedigree given below contains only statements for which some evidence exists, except for a few items with ?. A possible earlier generation is not included, but it is worth recording that Mark's father may have been John White of Leckford, whose will, now missing, was proved at Winchester prior to 1518. The customs of manors are strict, —unless circumstances, such as lack of direct heir, Borough English, &c., occurred, a holding passed from father to son. Mark's name appears at intervals at Timsbury until 1511, the next two rolls, of 1514 and 1515, do not contain it; later he is known to have been at Leckford. His son John, of age probably before 1519, is found as a tenant in Timsbury, and on Mark's death succeeded to his father's holdings. It is quite within the range of possibilities that Mark succeeded his father, John White, at Leckford, and left his son to manage the Timsbury farm. If this surmise is correct it may reasonably be suggested that John White of Leckford had two sons, one who moved to Havant, where John White of Southwycke was born about 1500, the other,

Mark, lived at Leckford and had a son Thomas; this would account for Dr. Thomas White being styled "cousin" in the will of John White of Southwycke, and for the Patriarch connecting his family with that branch of the Hampshire Whites. This is pure conjecture though based on circumstantial evidence; it may, however, suggest a clue to a student anxious to carry back the pedigree further.

REFERENCES

[Dates of matriculation, &c., at Oxford are from Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis*. Wills, in full or in abstract, are given below.]

1. Pedigree in Harl. MS. 1544, ff. 223d, 224.
2. Parish Registers of Timsbury, Hampshire.
3. " " " St. Peter's in the East, Oxford.
4. " " " Stanlake, Oxfordshire.
5. " " " St. Ebb's, Oxford.
6. " " " Holy Trinity, Dorchester, Dorset.
7. " " " St. Peter's, Dorchester, Dorset.
8. J. P. Kellogg, *A Supplement to Notes on Joseph Kellogg, . . . Terry, White and Woodbury*.

1. MARK WHITE of Timsbury and of Leckford, Hampshire, "descended of a younger brother of White of Southwicke," d. c. 1529. (See Will).

Children:

2. i. JOHN.
- ii. ROBERT, bur. 17 Jan. 1592.
- iii. RICHARD, [? from Eling; at New College, 1522; Vicar of Hornchurch, Essex], living 1588.
- iv. ALICE, m. JOHN COLLINS. Children: 1. *Richard*. 2. *William*, perhaps of Stanton St. John. Both children were living in 1530.
- v. THOMAS, b. at Leckford c. 1514; at New College, 1532; d. 11 June 1588; bur. at Salisbury Cathedral. (See Will).
- vi. EDYTH, m. ——. Child: *Harrie*.
2. JOHN WHITE of Timsbury, bur. 1 Feb. 1579/80.² (See Will). He married MILDRED WESTON, bur. 8 Jan. 1567.²

Children:

3. i. JOHN.
- ii. AVYS, bur. 17 July, 1620; (See Will); m. (1) 29 June 1573 SIMON PERROT (b. c. 1513; bur. 24 Sept. 1584³) of Oxford, as his second wife. He was an official of Mag-

dalen College. By their marriage settlement she was to have in lieu of dower, among other things, either the chamber room in one of two houses at Northleigh, Oxon, with meat and drink for herself and maid, or, if she returned to her people, a quarterly allowance of 8^{li} 13^s 4^d. The guarantors of the 500^{li} bond attached were "Doctor Whyte warden of New College in Oxford her uncle and John Whyte of Staunton in the county of Oxford, fermar, her brother." Wood, *City of Oxford*, ed. Clarke, says that her marriage is entered in the register of St. Peter's in the East, where she is called "Agnes"; Banwell, *Perot Notes*, quotes from a document, perhaps a marriage licence, where she is described as "Alys White of Oxford, gent. . . . being of the age of (blank) yeares." Elsewhere she is styled "of Winchester." Children: 1. *Peter*, bur. 16 May, 1603. 2. *Mary*, m. William s. John Westley of Eythorpe, Warwick; their children were Thomas, William, John, and Susan. 3. *Simon*. 4. *Elizabeth*. 5. *Hester*. Mrs. Avys (White) Perrot m. (2) at Stanlake [as Amye], on 28 Aug. 1585,⁴ JAMES SOMERS (b. in Edinburgh; bur. 30 Aug. 1610 at St. Peter's in the East as "Mr. James Summers, a Scot, Mr. of Arts"). Avys appears to be her correct name, Alys, Agnes, and Amye, being wrong.

- iii. JOAN, m. — SMARTE. Children: 1. *William*. 2. *Elizabeth*. In her father's will (1580) she is Joan Smarte; in her sister Avis's (1620) her children are called Smarte; in her uncle Thomas's (1588) she is "my niece Sharpe"—perhaps a clerical error, or she may have married again.
- iv. ELLYN, m. — KNIGHTE. Child: *Ellyn*. Mother and daughter were living in 1588.
- v. ALYS, m. THOMAS CANNON of Long Crendon, Bucks. Children: 1. *James*. 2. *Elizabeth*. 3. *Phillis*. (See Will of Avys Somers).
- vi. WALTER, b. c. 1553; at New College, 1572; B.C.L. 1580.
- vii. CECILY, m. (1) 20 Jan. 1568² JOHN NEWMAN; m. (2) before 1579 THOMAS GRADYCH. Children by first husband: 1. *Thomson*. 2. *John*; both bur. 6 Mar. 1580.² Children by second husband: 3. *Thomas*, bapt. 24 Oct. 1575. 4. *Ursula*, bapt. 23 Aug. 1579.² (See Will of Thomas White, 1588, "my niece Gradige.")

3. JOHN WHITE of Stanton St. John, d. before Sept. 1618 (See Will); m. ISABEL, dau. John BAWLE of Lichfield, who also had two sons: Henry Bawle, at New College, 1571; D.D., 1594; Precentor, Canon and Archdeacon of Chichester; d. 30 Mar. 1603; among witnesses of his will [P.C.C. 31 Bolein] were Josias and John White; Robert Bawle of Eastington, Gos., clerk, [Will at Gos. 1623] was probably father of John Ball of Langton Matravers, Dorset, clerk. The overseer of his will [P.C.C. 52 Coventry] was "my deare & loving kinsman Mr. John White of Dorchester, clerke." Isabel White was living in 1601.

Children:

- i. JOSIAS, b. 1572/3; at New College, 1591; Vicar of Hornchurch, Essex, 1611; d. 1622 (See Will); m. ANNE BARLOW of Petersfield, Hants.; d. 1665 (See Will). She remarried Francis Drake of Walton, Surrey, who d. 17 Mar. 1633/4. [He left her his house in Fetter Lane and mentions her son "Joshua"]. Children: 1. *Josiah*, Rector of Langton Matravers, Dorset, 1640-43; bur. at Poole 10 Nov. 1644. 2. *John*, of Dorchester and London, merchant; (? bur. 8 Feb. 1659/60⁷); m. Mary dau. William Derby of Dorchester. 3. *William*, of Dorchester and London, grocer. Children: *Steven*, *Anne*.⁷ 4. *James* of London and Barbadoes, merchant.
4. ii. JOHN, b. 25 Dec. 1575.
- iii. STEVEN, of Stanton St. John, d. 1629 (See Will); m. MARY dau. [John ?] WATERHOUSE; mar. set. 1614/15. Children: 1. *Mary*, bur. 24 July 1658; m. John s. William Whiteway. 2. *Martha*. 3. *Elizabeth*. 4. *Hanna*. 5. *John*, Mayor of Oxford, 1664; m. Mary dau. Thomas Weekes; she was bur. 30 June 1656; he was probably John White of Oxford, widower, aged about 34, who m. 8 Feb. 1661/2 Ann dau. Thomas Boulton of St. Christopher's, London, spinster, aged about 22. John, perhaps his grandson, erected a monument in Stanton St. John to his sister Ann Mann. 6. *Stephen*. 7. *Sara*. 8. *Abigail*.
- iv. MARTHA, m. (1) WILLIAM COOKE of Stratton; m. (2) — MOORE. Children by her first husband: 1. *William*, bp. 7 Oct. 1609.⁶ 2. *Elizabeth*, m. William Walton. 3. *Susanna*. 4. *Mary*. 5. *Nathaniel*.

- v. MARY, bur. 17 Oct. 1637⁶ (See Will); m. c. 1591 JOHN s. Stephen TERRY, b. c. 1555; Rector of Stockton, Wilts., 1590; d. 10 May 1625. Children⁸: 1. *Stephen*, bapt. 2. Aug. 1592; d. 28 July 1608. 2. *John*, m. Naomi ——. 3. *Samuel*, bapt. 6 July 1595. 4. *Josiah*, bapt. 25 May 1597; bur. 25 Oct. 1667⁶; m. Margaret ——. 5. *Nathaniel*, bapt. 11 Nov. 1599. 6. *Stephen*, bapt. 25 Aug. 1608; m. 13 May 1633/4 Joan Hardy; (? she was bur. June, 1647).
- vi. ELIZABETH, m. (1) THOMAS GARDNER of Little Bourton in Cropredy, Oxon. (See Will); m. (2) before 1637 — ALLEN, perhaps William Allen of Banbury, ironmonger, overseer of her husband's will. Children by her first husband: 1. *Josiah*, m. 26 Mar. 1640 Amy Williams.⁸ 2. *Steven*. 3. *Timothy*. 4. *Hannah*, m. — French. 5. *Katherine*, m. 17 June 1633 John Caspar Hopf. 6. *Mary*, m. — Kingston. 7. *Martha*.
4. JOHN WHITE, Patriarch of Dorchester; at New College, 1593; Rector of Dorchester, 1605; Rector of Lambeth, 1643; d. 21 July 1648 (See Will); m. ANNE dau. John BURGESS of Peterborough. This John Burgess may have been B.A., Oxon., 1524, M.A., 1529, and perhaps B.Med., 1534, as the profession of medicine "runs in families" and both the Rev. John Burgess and his son were doctors. The living of Sutton Coldfield was held, 1521–27, by John Burgess, lecturer in Philosophy, elected President of Magdalen College, 1527, but soon resigned [Wood *Fasti*, I. 52]; perhaps he was a kinsman of the later Rector of Sutton Coldfield.

Children:

- i. JOHN, bapt. 1 Dec. 1607; Rector of Pimperne, Dorset, 1646–1660.
- ii. SAMUEL, of Dorchester, goldsmith; d. 1660; m. (1) before 1634 SARAH dau. EDWARD CUTTANCE; m. (2) —? Child by his first wife: 1. *Hester*, b. before 1634. Children by his second wife: 2. *Anne*, bapt. 30 Dec. 1655; bur. 19 Jan. 1662.⁷ 3. *Samuel*, bapt. 11 April 1658⁷; m. Susanna, bur. 10 Feb. 1694/5, and had a son Daniel, bapt. 10 Jan. 1699/1700.
- iii. JOSIAH, of Dorchester and of Rouen, Merchant; m. (1) before 1634 MARY dau. Nicholas HALLETT of Bradpoole, Dorset; m. (2) —? Child by his first wife: 1. *John*,

- b. *ante* 1634; m. (? Mary). Children by his second wife:
 2. *Sara*, bapt. 6 April, 1656.⁶ 3. *Josiah*, bapt. 29 Feb.⁶
 1653/4; bur. 14 Jan. 1656/7.⁷
 iv. NATHANIEL, Captain in 1634; merchant in 1650.

WILLS

MARCUS WHITE OF TIMSBURY

[Archdeaconry Court, Winchester. Book D. (1522-1533).]

In the name of God Amen The xxvij day of Marche in the yere of
 o^r Lord God mvxxx I Markes White being of good mynd and parfett
 memory make my last will & testament in this maner of wisse first I
 bequeth my Soule to all myghtie god my body to be buryed in the
 churchyard of Tymmysbury Also I bequeth to the forsaid church a great
 broche and a table cloth also to the mother church iiij^d Itm to the
 church off Somburn vjs viij^d Itm to the church of Michelmershe iij^s
 iiij^d Itm to the parishe church of Mottisfount iij^s iiij^d Item to the
 church of Leckford iij^s iiij^d Itm to the kawsye way betwixt
 Stokbridge and Litlebrige vis viij^d Item I bequeth to John
 White my best brasse pot and my best panne Itm to the forsaid
 John White ij platters ij potyngers ij sawcers and xx^s in money Itm
 to Alys Colyns my doughter the next best brasse pott & pan and a
 cowe Itm to Richard White vjs viij^d Itm to Robert White vjs viij^d
 Itm to John Collyns my doughters son vjs viij^d Itm to his brother
 William vjs viij^d Itm to William fawkner vjs viij^d Item to every of
 my godchildren xij^d To Emlyn frier my servaunt ij brasse potts ij
 pannys of the third best Itm a cowe and the best bed wythyn my house
 wth all thapparell Also I woll that at my burying xiijs iiij^d be delyvered
 to power people with brede and ale and so much at my moneth mynd
 Also every prest shal have at my burying viij^d and at my moneths mynd
 vj^d apece and there dynn' and to every howse within Tymmysbury half
 a bushell of whete and as much malte Also unto Roberte Come his carte
 and also Roberte Come shall have the occupyinge of the howse and land
 that he dwelleth in oon hole yere paying the cheffe lordes rente Also
 I woll that a honest preste syng for my sowle by the space of oon yere
 and a halfe in the parishe church of Tymmsbury and he to have for his
 labor x^{li}.

The residew of all my goodis unbequethed my debttis paid and my
 will fulfilled I gyve and bequeth to John Collyns my soon in law and
 to John White whom I make my executores thei to distribute my goodis

for the welth of my soule Also I mak my overseers Sir Richard hynd and Walter Chandeler and they to have for ther labor xx^s a pece and John White x^s

In witnes hereof Sir Richard Johany's my goostly father Thomas Warner John Stevynys Sir Richard hynde and Walter Chandeler with other moo.

The original will, with most extraordinary spelling, is in the Bishop's Court and is indexed as that of Marcus White of Leckford and so endorsed.

JOHN WHITE OF TIMSBURY, HAMPSHIRE

[Archdeaconry Court, Winchester.]

In the name of God Amen the xxvi day of Januari in the yere of our Lord God 1579 I John Whyte of temesberie being syke of body but perfett of mynd and good remembrance thanke the God I do ordeyne and make This my last will and testament in mann^r and form following first I bequethe my soule to almighty God whom I desyre of his mercye so to receive yt and my body to be buried in the churchyard of temesbery It I give to the trynty church at Winton iiij^d Itm to the churche of temesbery xij^d Itm I give to the poremen boxe xij^d It I geve to Avys my doughter xl^s It I geve to Jone Smarte my doughter iiij^{li} vj^s viij^d Itm I geve to my doughter Ellyn Knyghte vi^{li} Itm I geve to my doughter Alys vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d I geve to Walter Whyt my sonne xl^s Itm I geve to Syssley Gradyche my doughter xl^s all the rest of my goods & cattles movable and unmovable & my detts paid and my legasis fulfilled I geve and bequethe to John Whyte my sonne whom I do ordayne and make my sole executor of this my last Will and testament wetness of John bennett the wrytter hereof evyn the day and yere above wrytten Thomas Perse and John Yeman.

Detts that the John Whyte dothe owe as followythe

Itm. I owe my brother Robert Whyte	ix ^{li}	
It I owe to Willm Symons of Winton	xl ^s	
It I owe to Peter Penton	vj ^s	iiij ^d
It I owe to Mertyn the smyth of Romsey	iiij ^s	
It I owe to Nycholas Cradocke	ij ^s	xj ^d
It I owe to old faythfull of Wallope	xij ^s	
It I owe to thomas Smarte	xx ^s	
It I owe to Anne Potter	xvj ^s	

Also the testator dothe geve Ellen Knyght my doughter and to ellyn Knyghte her child eyther of them on yewe shepe a pece Itm I geve to Thomson newman one yewe shepe and thomas gradyche sonn Thomas on yewe shepe Itm I geve to urselley gradyche on yewe shepe and to John newman one yewe shepe

Probate secundo Augusti 1580.

THOMAS WHITE, WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE

[P.C.C. 41 Rutland.]

In the name of God, Amen. The fourthe daie of June a thousand five hundreth eighty eight, I Thomas White Chauncelo^r of the Cathedrall church of Sarum being of good and perfect remembraunce (thankes be to God) doe make this my Last will and testament in manur and forme following First I comend my soule into the handes of Almighty God and to Jesus Christ my only saviour and Redeemer and my bodye to be buryed in the Cathedrall church of Sarum And for my worldly goodes I giue and bequethe as hereafter followeth Inp^rimis I giue to the Fabrick of Saincte Maries Church of Sarum three pounds six shillings eight pence Itm I giue to the poore people of Sarum tenne pounds Itm I giue to the prisoners of Fisherton six shillings eight pence Itm I giue to the poore people of West Deane tenn shillings Itm I giue to my brother Robert White thirteen pounds six shillings eight pence Itm I giue to my sister Edith tenne pounds Itm I giue to my niece Gradige five pounds Item I giue to my niece Sharpe five pounds Item I giue to my niece Knighte tenne pounds Item I giue to my nephewe Walter White tenne pounds Item I giue to my nephewe Henry White thelder tenne pounds Item I giue to my godsonne Weekes six shillings eight pence Item I giue to my godsonne Bower six shillings eight pence Item I giue to my godsonne Sharpe six shillings eight pence Item I giue to my godsonne Tichborne six shillings eight pence Item I giue to M^r Adam Hill preaching at my buriall forty shillings and tenn pounds parte of the debte he oweth me Item to every one of my servants a black coate to be ready made at my buriall at my charges Item I giue to Thomas Smithe in my kitchen forty shillings And to the other boye Griffin twenty shillings Item I giue to every one of the Canons of the Cathedrall church of Sarum present at my buriall six shillings eight pence a pece Item I giue to M^r Doctor Bridges Deane of Sarum a duple Duccatt Item I giue to M^{rs} Sommer my niece thirteen pounds six shillings eight pence Item I giue to my brother Richard White tenn pounds in monie and the gelding he gave me last. Item I giue to my nephewe William White all suche ymplementes of houshold stuffe

as remaine there at Deane in my Parsonage howse together wth all corne horses and catells I haue there saving suche timber as now remaineth there Item I giue to my sister Edethes sonne Harry eight pounds All the residue of my goodes and debtes moveable and vnmoueable whatsoeuer I giue and bequethe vnto Edward White my nephewe and Henry White my nephewe my servants whome I make my executors of this my last will and testament And for the due performance of all Legacis and bequestes before by me giuen I make and ordeyne Mr Willm Brouncker and Mr Thistlethwaite of Wintersloe Esquires my welbeloued frendes to be my overseers of this my Last will and testament Desireinge them for my sake to take the paines to see it trulye executed according to my full meaning therein And I do giue to Mr Willm Brouncker for his good helpe and succor my biggest bowle wth his cover double gilte and to Mr Thistlethwaite for his good helpe in Like case one seck cupp wth his cover double gilte and a tunne parcell gilt-Thes beinge Witnesses John Sarum Thomas Paynter John Bennett John Provis Richard Headd.

Proved 19th June, 1588 by Edward White and Henry White.

JOHN WHITE OF STANTON ST. JOHN

[Oxford Wills, Series II, Vol. 4. p. 224d.]

30th September, 1616. I John White of Staunton St. John in co. Oxford, gent.

To be buried in the parish church of Staunton.

To the poor of Staunton £6.13.4.

To my eldest son Josiah White £4.

To my son John White £20.

To my eldest daughter Mary Terry £20.

To my daughter Martha Cooke £20.

To my daughter Eliz. Gardner £10.

To my sister Avis Summers 10^s for a ring.

To my sister Alice Cannon 40^s.

To St. Mary College in Oxford, commonly called New College £10 to be bestowed in twoe peeces of plate for th^e use of the fellowes and students in the same Colledge.

All the rest of my goods, &c., to my son Steven White whom I make executor, allowing only to my 2 sons-in-law John Terry and Thomas Gardner whom I desire to be overseers, 40s. each.

Witnesses: Matthias Niccolls, Henry Whitfeld, John Ball.

Proved at Oxford 26 Sept. 1618, by the said executor.

AVIS [WHITE] SOMER

[P.C.C. 107 Soame.]

[Undated.] AVIS SOMER of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, widow. To be buried in St. Peter's near husband, Symon Parrett, and son Peter Parrett. To sister Alice, wife of Thomas Canon of Long Grendon and her children James, Elizabeth, Phillis and Jane; to nephew William Smarte and niece Elizabeth Smarte; my grandchildren Thomas, William, John, Mary, Joan and Susan Westly, children of daughter Mary; their grandfather Mr. John Westly; monument in Magdalen College Church for husband, James Somer.

Executors, son-in-law William Westly and only child Mary, his wife. Overseer, brother Mr. John Westly.

Wits. Frauncis Bradshawe, Edward Westly, Joan Smith.

Proved 7 Nov. 1620 by William Westley.

JOSIAS WHITE OF HORNCHURCH

[P.C.C. 25 Swann.]

5 Feb. 1622. Josias White of Hornchurch, Essex, clerk. To son Josias, at 21, messuage and farm called Fetches or Thetches containing 35a. in Roxwell. To sons John and William, at 21, crofts, etc. of 26a. called Cookes, adjoining Thethes, and Cookes land mead, $\frac{1}{2}$ a., all in Roxwell and 100^{li} each. To son James 150^{li}. Wife Anne to have benefit of land during sons minority and to be executrix. Overseers:—brothers John and Steven White.

Wits:—Ad. Harsenett, John Morse, Isaack Reynolds.

Proved 3 March, 1622, by relict.

ANNE DRAKE

[P.C.C. 43 Hyde.]

21 April, 1665. Anne Drake of London, widow, sometime wife of Josias White of Horn Church, Essex, clerk, and late relict of Francis Drake of Walton, Surrey, Esq.

In pursuance of will of son Josias gives to son William White, of London, grocer, "whome I thincke & have found most serviceable to me," messuage, etc., called Fetches or Thetches in Roxwell in parish

of Writtle, Essex, and also Cookes land mead, said William to pay 20^{li} each to my sons John White of London, merchant, and James White of the Isle of Barbadoes, merchant.

Wits:—Mathew Martine, Eliz. Martine, Eliz. Watty.

Proved 8 May, 1665, by son William White.

JOHN WHITE OF DORCHESTER

[P.C.C. 105 Fairfax.]

The Last Will and Testam^t of John White Sen: Preacher of Gods Word in Dorchest^r in y^e Countie of Dorst^{tt}

Imp^{rs} I doe with all humble reverence and thankefulnes acknowledg and adore y^e Infinite goodnesse and mercy of God who hath bin pleased to sett me a-parte vnto this greate worke of the Ministry of his Gospell in such a place where I haue found his gracious hand with me y^t my Labours haue ben well accepted and produced such effects as I haue cause to looke vpon with much comfort and thankefull acknowledgment and hath borne me vp with his own hand in despite of y^e power and malice of those y^t haue endeavoured as much as lay in them to hinder me in my course.

2ly. For y^e people wherewith he hath intrusted mee I bequeath vnto them those truthes That I haue from time to time delivered vnto them as y^e counsell of God in y^e bowells of Jesus Christ, beseeching them that they soe adheare and cleaue vnto them as y^e grounds of their faith and rules of their practise and suffer not themselues to bee carried vpp and downe wth every winde of Doctrine w^{ch} howsoever seemingly plausible at y^e first veiw by y^e novelty thereof will certainly prove a meanes in time of vnsetting of them from y^e maine foundation and this I lay vp on them as my strictest charge of y^e observation whereof they shall giue an accompt to Christ Jesus att y^e last day. As for my outward estate w^{ch} y^e Lord hath intrusted mee wthall as it is but smale and therein most agreeable to mine owne desire soe I am in that respect trouble att nothinge more then that I want meanes to testifie my thankefull acknowledgmt of y^e favor^s and honor^s w^{ch} I haue receaved from this people in y^e space of forty three yeares Wherein God hath bin pleased to continue me Minister amongst them.

3ly. I give and bequeath vnto M^r Friderick Losse of Dorchest^r Phisitian one peice of my plate such as my foure sonnes by ioynt consent shall thinke fitt as an acknowledgmt of his faithfull loue and greate paines and care y^t he hath taken about me.

4ly. I doe hereby appointe & ordaine y^t y^e remainder of y^t little plate w^{ch} I haue left may bee soe disposed amongst my foure sonnes (in such proportion as they shall agree of amongst themselves) that every one may receave some share therof to bee kept by them as a remembraunce of mee.

5ly. I giue and bequeath to my fower sisters Ann Drake Martha Moore Elizabeth Allen and Mary White to each of them y^e some of twentie shillings.

6ly. I giue vnto Arthur Hackman my servant y^e some of Tenn shillings as an acknowledgmt of his faithfull service.

7ly. I giue vnto Hanna Mounsell my maide servant y^e some of Thirtie shillings as an acknowledgmt of her greate paines shee hath taken about mee in my weaknes.

8ly. and lastly All y^e rest of my goods and Chattells I giue and bequeath vnto my yongest sonne Nathanaell whome I appointe sole Executor of this my last will and Testam^t and require him w^{thin} one moneth after my decease to distribute amongst y^e Godly poore of y^e parrishe of Trinitie and St. Peeters in Dorchest^r y^e some of fortie shillings accordinge to his discretion As for Funerall expences as I never liked y^e affected solemnities thereof soe I require that there be order taken by my Executor y^t as much as may bee my Funerall may be solemnized wth all privacye w^{thout} any sermon or ringinge of Bells

AND NOW LORD JESUS COME QUICKLEY

JOHN WHITE SEN.

Signed sealed and Acknowledged by y^e aboue named M^r Jno. White As his last will and Testam^t y^e Twentic ninth day of March An^o: 1648 in y^e presence of vs—

Memorandum that y^e word (my) in y^e three and twentieth line and y^e words (foure) and (Ann Drake) in y^e Nine and Twentieth line were interlined before y^e signinge and sealinge hereof in y^e presence of Jn^o Whiteway Gabriell Reve.

Proved 14th June, 1649, by Nathaniel White.

JOHN BURGES OF SUTTON COLDFIELD

[P.C.C. 105 Sadler.]

12 September, 1634. John Burges, parson of Sutton Coldfield, Warwick.

To be buried in vault in Sutton church where Dorothy my late wife was laid. To Dorothy, daughter of son John Burges; to John, Robert

and Elizabeth Thurlbie, children of my late daughter Ursula at age of 21; Mary and Ursula Thurlbie have had their portion; to Thomas, John and Elizabeth Breedon, my grandchildren; to John and Ursula Sherman and their mother my dear daughter Painter. To dear brother John White of Dorchester, "Stephanus his Latin Concordance, which he gave to me," to my dear sister Anne, his wife. To my son John silver cup or can given me by the Honourable House of Parliament, my greatest standing bowl of silver and gilt and books at present in his hands. To Mr. Robert Shilton of Birmingham my patron, his wife and children. To cousin Thomas Willoughbie and wife Elizabeth.

Executrix, wife Lettice.

Proved 26 October, 1635.

STEPHEN WHITE OF STANTON ST. JOHN

[P.C.C. 13 Scroope.]

7 Nov. 1629. Stephen White of Stanton St. John, Oxon, gent. To poor of Stanton St. John 10^{li}, also 20^{li} to be paid in ten several payments on fifth November, they to be put in mind of the great deliverance which the Lord God on this day was pleased to afford this Church and State. To wife, Marie, 500^{li} of which 200^{li} to be paid within five months of my decease on condition that there be delivered up to my executors the bond for 500^{li} dated 1 March, 1614, wherein I stand bound to Henry Wilkinson of Wadsden, Bucks, and Anthony Waterhouse, now deceased for the payment of 300^{li} to my dear wife Marie. To her also best parcel gilt salt, silver bowl of the bigger sort and household stuff. To brother John White and sisters Mary Terry, Martha Moore, Anne White widow and Elizabeth Gardner, 30^s each for a ring. To eldest daughter Marie, 150^{li}; to daughters Martha, Elizabeth, Hanna, Sara and Abigail 100^{li} each; to sons John, 300^{li} and Stephen 200^{li}. Residue in trust for children to Henry Wilkinson of Wadesdon, clerk, brother John White of Dorchester, John Nixon of Oxon, mercer, Thomas Weekes of Oxon, gent, Thomas Broad of Oxon, apothecary, and John Tredwell of Oxon, shoemaker, all of whom I make executors.

Wits:— Elizabeth Gardner, Stephen Terrye.

Codicil, 13 Nov. 1629. To cousin Mary Gardner at her marriage 5^{li}; to brother Gardner my best cloak; to cousin Stephen Terry my best suit of clothes; to Goodwife Burges 5^s.

Proved 15 February, 1629 [30] by Henry Wilkinson, clerk and John White, clerk.

MARY TERRY

[P.C.C. 11 Lea.]

6 Oct. 1637. Mary Terry, widow, of Dorchester.

To parishes of Holy Trinity, of St. Peter's and of All Saints, Dorchester 20^s each, to be distributed to the poor by the advice of my executor. To son John Terry 40^{li} which he oweth me; to son Nathaniel Terry, 60^{li}, the bed whereon I lie, a silver drinking bowl, etc; to son Stephen Terry, 46^{li}. To beloved brother John White and dear sisters Martha Moore, Elizabeth Gardner and Anne, wife of my brother John White, 30^s each. To nephew John, son of John White, 40^s and a gilt spoon; to Samuel, Josiah and Nathaniel, sons of John White, 20^s each. To Margaret wife of son Josiah Terry, 4^{li}; to nieces Elizabeth Walton 20^s, Susanna Cooke, 40^s, Mary Cooke 10^{li}, Katherine Hopf 5^{li}; to nephew Nathaniel Cooke 5^{li}.

Wit:— Thomas Symonds.

Proved 12 Feb. 1637 by Josia Terry, son.

THOMAS GARDNER OF CROPREDY

[P.C.C. 102 Russell.]

1 November, 1632. Thomas Gardner of Little Borton in Cropredy, Oxon. yeoman.

To Robert Harris of Hanwell, Oxon, clerk, William Allin of Banbury, ironmonger and Elizabeth Gardner, my wife, all messuages, yardland and half-yard land meadow in town of Great Borton and in the fields of Great and Little Borton, now in the tenure of Anthony Elkington to be sold to pay legacies. To Josiah Gardner, eldest son, mansion house and homestall wherein I now dwell in Little Borton. To said Josiah and sons Stephen and Timothy, lands in Great and Little Borton at the age of 24. To daughters Hannah French, Katherine Hopf, Mary Kingstone and Martha Gardner.

Executrix, Elizabeth, my wife. Overseers, Mr. Harris of Hanwell and William Allin of Banbury.

Wits. Robert Harris and Thomas Haukes.

Proved 27 November, 1633.

JOSIAS WHITE OF LANGTON MATRAVERS

[P.C.C. 67 Rivers.]

6 Nov. 1643. Josias White, clerk, Rector of Lankton in the Isle of Purbeck but lying sick in the town of Poole. To be buried at Poole if I shall die there without Church service read to the Corps. To my most dear mother for her care of me, lands in Roxwell in parish of "Rittle," Essex, called Thetches or Fetches, left to me by my father Josias White, clerk, adjoining Cookes land which my mother lately bought from my brothers John and William White. These I give her "because I know not uppon what straightes her old age may be cast and my brothers being young are better able to shift for themselves." To brothers John, William and James 10^{li} each.

Executrix my mother M^{rs} Mary Drake, now living in Yormouth, I. W.

Overseers: my said brothers.

Wits: Rob. Butler, Barret Land, Geo. Starr, Theo. Mann. Some of the deeds of said land are in the hands of my Aunt M^{rs} Mary White of Dorchester.

Proved 15 May, 1645, by the oath of "Anne or Mary" Drake his mother.

APPENDIX II

JOHN WHITE'S WORKS

ABBREVIATIONS:—

B.L. — Bodleian Library.

B.M. — British Museum.

C.U.L. — Cambridge University Library.

F.R.-T. — Frances Rose-Troup.

THE TEN VOWS

The two copies of White's Vows here given were found:— *a*) among Laud's papers, now in the Public Record Office, *b*) among the Boswell Papers, now in the British Museum. The endorsement by Sir William Boswell, Minister at the Hague, is incorrect, *Glocestre* being substituted for *Dorchester*.

These resemble each other so closely that we are led to the conclusion that, as in the case of the "Generall Observations" below, White wrote out several copies, adapting each one to the requirements of the intended recipients, and that the original of the Boswell copy was sent to the English congregation in Holland; this may be inferred from the reversal of the order of Laud 6 & 7 with a slight alteration, *i.e.* that the advice of the godly-wise was to be accepted in differences between the brethren, presumably upon matters of religion, but was not required in matters of business. The one important addition is in Boswell, 1, which reads:— "innovation or corruption in *doctrine*."

[*State Papers, Domestic*, Charles I., 535, No. 153.]

[Endorsed in Archbishop Laud's hand.]

By Mr White of Dorchester.

Catechismus ante Eucharistia.

The feircness of ye Lds indignacion powred out vpon ye Neighbour Churches round about vs and threatened vnto vs by ye prparacions made agst vs, wch

wee see before or eies, but much more by or sinnes, wch gett strength dayly, and break out more violently than in former times, cannot but make a deep impression of terror and astonishment vpon all whose harts are not wholely besotted and senseless. And howsoever it hath not so farre quickened vs, as it ought, notwithstanding wee have found or selves pressed thereby to try our own harts and ways and to consider, how farre wee have bene partakers in ye Causes of these fearefull plagues, and Consequently might be engaged to the expectation of ye like judgements and withall to enquire wt ye Ld requires of vs in particular for averting his wrath if not from ye Church and state yet at least from or own heads. By the enquiry we find orselves

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 First relapsed into Lukewarmness | { first in Zeale for Gods honor and
vnto his truth
Secondly in love and affection
towards or brethren, |
| 2 Secondly encreased | { 1 In carnall security, and deadnes
of hart.
2 In pride, and selfe love, wch
carries vs away after our owne
ends.
3 In ye love of ye World, causing
restles labours and endeavors
after ye things of this life.
4 In contention and envying one
another. |

By all wch or carriage hath bine much disordered, ye peace of or Conscience interrupted, our selves weakned agst ye time of triall, and Religion scandalized. The Consideracion where of hath moved vs for ye lifting vp of ye weak hands and strengthening of ye feeble knees to bind orselves by a solemne Vow, and Covenant vnto ye Ld our God to endeavour to our power, and according to the measure of grace whereby God shall strengthen vs to ye practice of these ensuing duties.

1. To cleave vnto ye true and pure Worship of God established according to his owne ordinance, opposing orselves to all wayes of Innovacion or Corruption or either to ye vttermost of our power.
2. To labour for a growth in knowledge and vnderstanding by attending to readinge hearing and meditating Gods word, and Conferring thereof, vpon all fitt occasions, and to redeeme the time for that purpose.
3. To instruct or Children and families in the feare of ye Ld by catechiseinge examinacion after publike exercise and obseruacion of their Wayes.
4. To watch or owne Ways dayly and to call orselves to a strict, and often Account for our failings, that our harts may bee humbled and wee worke out our salvacion with feare and trembling.
5. To submitt to brotherly admonicions and to performe that Christian duty towards others in meekness, eschewing all groundles suspicions, slanders, and contentions, as enemies to Christian peace.

6. To enter into a speedy reconcilacion with any especially or Brethren with whom we have any p'sent difference in such manre as vpon debate shall be advised.
7. To forbear ye clogging of or harts with Worldly affaires, oppresion by bargaining, and to avoid all ways of gaine, wch shall bee adiudged scandalous by ye Godly wise, especially Ministers, that watch over our soules.
8. To endeavour ye furthering of ye Gospell at home, and abroad, by offering or persons and estates to ye churches service in whatsoever shall bee reasonably required of vs to that end.
9. To take nearer to or hearts or afflicted Brethrens distresses, remembering yr estates more frequently and effectually in our prayers conforming to yr Condition in or carriage, in food, in Clothing, and enlarging or hands to their necessities.
10. To take an account one of another as wee shall have opportunity wt wee have done in ye p'misses, and stirre vp one another to ye carefull examination thereof.

[*Boswell Papers. Add MS. 6394, fol. 159*]

[Endorsed, in Sir William Boswell's hand, as follows:—]

Articles & Couen: of Mr White of Glocestre, &c. to his Parishioners communicants, &c.

The feirceness of the Lords indignation upon our neighbour Churches about vs & threatned to vs by the preparations made agt vs (wch we see before our eyes) but much more by our sinnes, wch gett strength dayly, and breake forth more violently now then in former times, can not but make a deep impression of terror & astonishment vpon our hearts that are not wholly besotted & senceless. And how soever it hath so farr quickened vs as it ought, notwithstanding it hath forced vs to the tryall of or owne hearts & wayes, that wee may understand how farr wee haue concurred in the causes of these fearefull plagues; and here vpon enquire what the Lord may require at our hands in particular for the auerting of the p'sent ensuing iudgments (if it may bee) from the Church & State, if not, at the least from our owne heads— by this enquiry wee find orselues though not all in a like manner, yet the best of vs too farr relapsed vnto Lukewarmness first

In zeale for gods honr & loue to his trueth, toward [and ?] affection towards or brethren, increase of carnall security, & deadness of hearte in the midst of these dangerous times.

- 2 Pride & selfe-loue wch carryes vs after or owne ends.
- 3 Loue of the world manifested in restless grasping after the things of this life.
- 4 Contentions & diuisions amongst orselues by all wch or carriage hath been much disordered, the peace of or conscience distempered orselues weakened agst the time of tryall, and religion scandalized, wherevpon knowing that the lord abhorres nothing more then the prouoking of his sonnes & daughters, and [blank] that wch is [blank] will bee turned out of the way, wee haue resolu'd in the feare of the lord for the lifting vp of

the weake handes & strengthening of the feeble knees to bind our selues by a solemne vow & couent to the Lorde or god, to endeaour to or power according to the measure of Grace wherewth God hath enabled vs, to the practise of these intended dueteyes

1. To cleaue in heart to the trueth & pure worship of god established according to his owne ordinances opposing or selues to all wayes of innouation or corruption in doctrine to the utmost of or power.
2. To labour for a growth in knowledg & vnderstanding of the mysteries of Godlines, according to the reading, hearing, meditation and conference of the word of God in all fitt opportunity redeeming the time for that purpose.
3. To instruct or children and families in the feare of the lord by chatechising and examination of theyr dayly profitting by the word and obseruation of theyr wayes.
4. To watch ouer our own selues and our own wayes dayly, and to take a strick accompt of or owne faylings, that our hearts may still bee kept low & tender, that wee may worke out or saluation with feare and trembling.
5. To submitt to all Christian admonition and performe that christianity towards others in meakness eschewing all groundles suspicions slanders and contentions.
6. To forbear the clogging of or hearts wth worldly affayres abstaining from all oppression and fraud in bargaining, and abandoning all wayes & means of gaine wch shall bee iudged scandalous.
7. To enter into speedy and thorough reconciliation wth any especially our brethren with whom wee haue any difference, as vpon debate thereof shall bee iudged scandalous vpon the due examination of the godly wise especially ministers that watch ouer or soules.
8. To labour the furthering of the Gospell at home & a broad by offering our persons and estates vnto the Churches seruice wth whatsoever shall bee in reason required vnto that end.
9. To take neer the heart or afflicted brethrens distresses remembring theyr estate more frequently & effectually in our prayers, conforming to theyr condition in or carriage, food, and clothinge and inlarging or handes to theyr releife.
10. To take accompt one of another as wee shall haue opportunity what wee haue done in the promises and to stirr vp one another vnto the carefull obseruation thereof.¹

¹ Peter's Covenant is here given to show how closely it resembles the foregoing:—

Articles or Couenant offered by Mr. Hugh Peters Minister, to the English Congregation at Rotterdam, to his Congregation before admission into it or to the Lords supper to be subscribed &c: 1633.

The 15 Artikells and Couenant of Mr. Hugh Peter of Rotterdam.

- 1 To Be Contented with meet triall for our fittnes to be members.
- 2 To Cleaue in hart to the truth and pure worship of God and to oppose all wayes of Innouation and Corruption.
- 3 To Suffer the word to be the guider of all Controuersies.

- 4 To Labor for growth of knowledge and to that end to Confer, pray,
heare, and meditate:
- 5 To Submit to brotherly admonition and Censure with out enuie or anger
- 6 To Be thoroughly reconciled one to a nother euen in Iudgment be fore
wee begin this work
- 7 To Walk in all kind of exactnes both in regard of our selues, and others
- 8 To For bear Clogging our selues and harts with earthly Carés which is
the bayn of religion
- 9 To Labor to gett A great meassuer of humilitie and meekness and to
bannish pride and highnes of spirit.
- 10 To Meditate the furthering of the gossPELL at home and A broad as well
in our persons as with our purses
- 11 To Take nearly to hart our bretherens Condition and to Conforme our
selues to these trouble some tymes both in dyet and apparrell that
they be with out excesse in nessesitie.
- 12 To Deall with all kynd of wissdome and gentellnes towards those that
are with out
- 13 To Studie Amitie and brotherly loue
- 14 To Put one and other in mynd of this Couenant and as occassion is
offered to take Acompte of what is done in the premisses
- 15 And for the furthering of the Kingdome of Christ: diligently to in-
struckt Children & seruants: yea and to look to our wayes and
accomptes dayley:

FINIS

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS FOR THE PLANTATION OF NEW ENGLAND

White's authorship of these General Observations, and the conflicting claims made on the behalf of others, have been briefly discussed in Chapter XIII, but a few points require further consideration.

There are four known copies—exclusive of Eliot's in his *Project for New England* almost identical with Winthrop's fuller copy—and for convenience they are briefly described and numbered below.

- I. At the Public Record Office,¹ endorsed "White of Dorchester his instructions for New England," in a contemporary hand. Heading:— *General Observations for the Plantation of New England*. Printed:— Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, VI. p. 417.
- II. *Winthrop Papers*, endorsed "May, 1629." This is a single sheet in Winthrop's handwriting. It has never been printed, although nearly every other draft has appeared in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings.
- III. *Hutchinson Collection*, probably found among Higginson's papers, perhaps the "address" he received from Mr. Humfry in March, 1629. Heading:— *General Considerations for the Plantation in New England, with an answer to several objections*. Printed:— Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, XII, p. 236. [This was at one time in the possession of Alexander Young.]
- IV. *Winthrop Papers*, probably based on a copy similar to No. II which White gave Winthrop in October, 1629, but slightly altered and greatly enlarged by Winthrop. Heading:— *Reasons to be considered for iustifeinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, &*

¹ *State Papers, Colonial*, VI. No. 64.

for encouraginge such whose hartes God shall moue to ioynē wth them in it. Subsection headed:— Diverse obiections w^{ch} have been made against this plantation wth their answeres & Resolutions.

Printed:— Life & Letters of John Winthrop, R. C. Winthrop, I, p. 309.

[A rough draft in the Governor's handwriting is headed:— "Obiections ag^t this intended Plantation in N. E. Answered & resolved."]

A transcript of the Public Record Office copy, as it has not yet appeared in print, is here given:—

general observations for ye plantation of new England

- 1a It wilbe a service to ye church of great consequens by careinge ye gospell into those parts to raise a bulworke against ye kingdom of anti-christ wch ye Iesuits labour to rere in all parts of ye world: /
- 2a All other churches of europe beinge brought to desolation it cannot be but yt the like judgement is cumminge vpon vs & who knoweth but that god hath prepared this place for a refuge for many whome he meaneth to saue in ye general distruction: /
- 3a The land groneth vnder her inhabitants soe that man the best of creatures is held more base then ye earth they tread on: /
- 4a We are growen to that hight of intemperance as noe mans estate will suffer him to keepe sayle with his equall & he that doeth not must liue in contempt. Hence trades are carried soe deceitfully & unrighteously as yt is almost impossible for a good vpright man to maynteyne his charge & to liue comfortably in his profession:
- 5a The fountaynes of Learninge & religion are soe corrupted as besides the vnsupportable charge many chyldren of best witts & fayrest hopes are perverted corrupted & vtterly overthrowne by the multitude of evill examples & the licentious government of those seminaries: /
- 6a The earth is the Lords garden & he hath given yt to ye sonns of men to be tyllē & improved why then should we stand strivinge here for places of habitation many men spending as much labour & cost to recover & keepe somtymes an acre or two of land wch would procure many acres of as good or better in an other place & in the meane tyme they suffer whole cuntryes vsefull & convenient for the vse of man to lye wast without inhabitant: /
- 7a What can be a better or more honorable worke then to helpe rayse & support a particular church whyle yt is in the budd & infancy to ioynē our forces with such a company of faithfull people as by a tymly assistance may growe strong & prosper & for want of yt may be put to great hazard yf not ruined: /

- 8a If such as are knowen to be godly & liue in welth heare shall forsake all this to ioyne themselues with this church & to runne their hazard yt wilbe an example of great vse boeth for the removinge of the scandall of worldly & sinister respects to giue more lyfe to the faith of godly people in their prayers for the plantation & alsoe to encourage others to ioyne the more willingly in yt:/
- ob. Yt wilbe a greate wronge to or owne country & church to take away the godly people & we shall lay that the more open to the iudgements feared.
- /sol:/ Yt wilbe nothinge in respect of those that shalbe lefte & many that liue in noe vse heare more then for their owne private famyls may be employed to a more common good in an other place.
- 3o By such as are of noe vse heare to be soe employed as the church shall receave noe losse.
- 4o the church since christs tyme is to be considered as vniversall without respect of cuntry: soe as he that doeth good in any place doeth serve the church in all places.
- 5o Yt is the revealed will of god that the gospell should be preached in all places & nations & therefore we knowe not whether the Indians will receave yt yet yt is a good worke to observe gods will in offering yt for god shall hae glory yf yey refuse.
- ob. We haue feared a iudgement a longe tyme but yet we are saffe:/ yt were better to stay till yt come & either we may fly then or yf we be overtaken we may content our selues to suffer wth such a church as this.
- sol. It is likely that this consideration made the church beyonde the seas viz: the palatinate Rochelle to sit still & not labour for shelter whyle they might: but the wofull spectacle of their ruine may teach vs wysdom to avoyd the plague whyle yt is forseene & not to tary as they did till yt overtake vs:/ yf they were now in their former liberty we may be sure they would take other course for their safty Although most of them had myscaried in their escape yet that had not bin halfe soe miserable to themselues & scandalous to religion as their desperate backslydings & abiuring the truth wch many of their auncient professors amongst them & their whole posterity that remayne are plunged into.
- ob. We have here a plentyfull land of all things with peace.
- sol. Yet we must leaue all this abundance yf yt be taken from vs.
2. When we be in our graues yt wilbe all one to hae liue in plenty or poverty or whether we hae died in a bed of downe or one a locke of straw only this is the advantage of a meane condition that yt is at more freedome to dye the lesse comfort any hau in the things of this world the more liberty & desier he may haue to lay upp treasure in heauen.

- ob. But we may perish in the way or when we come there hunger or the sword there:/ how uncomfortable would yt be to see our wyfes chyldren & frends come to such misery by our occasion.
- sol. Such obiections savour to much of the flesh who can free hymselfe or his friends from the like calamyties heare:/ yf this course be warrantable we must trust gods providence for those thinges either he will keep those evills from vs or will dispose them for our good & in able vs to beare them.
- ob. But what warrant hae we to take the land wch is & hath bin soe longe tyme possessed bye other sonnes of Adam.
- sol. that wch is *common* to all is proper to none these savage people ramble over much land without title or property.
- 2o there is more then enough for them & vs/
- 3o God hath consumed these natiues in a miraculouse plague wherby a great parte of their countrey is left voyd without inhabitants:/ we shall com in with good leaue of these natives.
- ob. But we should yet send younge ones & such as can be best spared & not of our best number & magistrates.
- sol. Yt is a great worke & therefore requyres skylfull artificers to lay ye foundation of a new buildinge then to vphold & meynteyne yt alreddy buylt: yf great thinges be attempted by weake instrumts the effects wilbe answerable.
- ob. We see that plantations that hae bin formerly made succeed ill.
- sol. the fruit of any probable designe is not to be decerned by the immediate successe yt may appeare in tyme to good vse
- 2o ther were great & fundamental errors in the other wch are likely to be avoyded in this for first their mayne end wch was proposed was carnal & not religiouse they aynd cheefly at profit & not the propagation of religion: secondly they vsed vnfitt instrumts viz a multitude of rude & misgoverned persons the very scumme of ye Land
- 3 they did not establysh a right forme of government,

A careful study of all the copies and of Winthrop's several drafts has led to the conclusion that White wrote the "Observations" in many forms for circulation among probable emigrants, adapting each to the requirements of the intended recipient—this alone accounts for the striking resemblances and verbal variations, and especially for the curious form in No. II, which, where it differs from No. I, resembles No. III, yet it was apparently given to Higginson in March, 1629—*i.e.* two months before the endorsed date of Winthrop's No. III.

There is, moreover, a curious reason confirming the assignment of the originals of both Nos. II and IV to White. Objection 5 in both

these is greatly elaborated, and, while the substance of the addition is the same, the argument is developed in a slightly different sequence. No. I briefly states that these savages ramble over much land without *title* or property. Nos. II and IV quote scriptural evidence of man's two-fold right to the earth—a natural and a civil right,—a natural right inherent in all where land is occupied in common, a civil right when it is enclosed and appropriated to individuals. Abraham could dwell upon, and take the fruits of, “the country that lay in common,” but he could not bury a dead corpse in the field of Macphelah without leave.

White, in his “Genesis”, bk. I, p. 113, sets out the same argument regarding the natural and the civil title to the land—he uses the word *title* in No. I—derived from God, the natural title immediately, by first subduing any void portion—the finest and surest holding,—and the civil title mediately, by gift or purchase from those who possessed a natural title. Here the same idea is differently expressed; the only possible conclusion seems to be that the same hand penned the two arguments.

Attention is particularly called to the different headings used,—Observations, Considerations, Reasons, with the subtitle having “answears and resolutions,” suggesting White’s “ans” and “sol”, although this document of Winthrop’s contains no reference in the text to “resolutions.” Also to the titles of the other documents found among Winthrop’s papers, and included in Eliot’s *Project for New England*, because the variations in the titles have caused great confusion. These are:—

A) *Some General Conclusions showing that persons of good use here (yea in publike service) may be transplanted for the furtherance of this plantation in N. E.*

It is suggested that this was the copy of a document sent by White to convince Winthrop that God’s call to establish the Gospel in the Plantation was more urgent than carrying on his duties in the public service. There are many parallel phrases in White’s writing—*e.g.* compare the heading with observation I (line 37) “By such as are of no use here to be so employed . . .” The rough draft has marginal notes by Winthrop, which for the most part are embodied in the clear copy. White’s authorship of this need not be stressed.

B) *Particular Considerations in the case of J. W.*

There is a rough draft of this in the first person singular, with marginal notes, some of which are incorporated in the clear copy. It may be noted that in the draft reference is made to the “lawful calling from the Cheife of the Plantation approved by godly and judicious divines,”

and a somewhat similar phrase is used by the younger Winthrop, see below.

It is urged by Winthrop's partisans that evidence of his authorship of the "Observations" is found in the following quotations from his correspondence:—

- a) On 21st August, 1629, his son John, just returned from a tour through Europe, wrote:— "The Conclusions which you sent down I showed my uncle and aunt, who liked them well. I think they are unanswerable and it cannot but be a prosperous action which is so well allowed by the judgments of God's prophets, undertaken by so religious and wise worthies of Israel, and indented to God's glory in so special a service."²

The use of the word Conclusions suggests that he had before him the document headed "Some General Conclusions," lettered A above, which is entirely independent of White's "Observations;" he possibly had also the "Particular Considerations", lettered B above, where the approval of "godly and judicious divines" occurs. The use of Conclusions makes it doubtful whether he had White's compositions, either I, Observations, or a form of IV, Reasons.

- b) On 9th October, 1629, Winthrop wrote to his son John:— "I have sent down all the late news from New England. I would have some of you read it to your mother, and let Forth copy out the observations and all that follows from the [?], and the letter at the end, and show it to Mr. Mott and others that intend the voyage."³ On the same day he wrote to his wife in reference to "some papers concerning N. E." enclosed:— "I would have Forth read the book to thee; for the loose papers let him write them out better, and then read them. I would have him copy out so much of that in the book as is from the hand in the [blank] leaf to the end and show it to Mr. Mott, my neighbour Childe and others that have a mind to N. E., especially that gracious letter at the end; which I wish thee and the rest to read seriously over."⁴

² Winthrop, *Life & Letters of John Winthrop*, I, p. 307.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336. Higginson's first letter from New England must have been received about this date.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Here the reference is to Observations, as in White's No. I. The "loose papers" may well have been the rough draft of No. IV in Winthrop's own difficult writing; a clear copy of No. IV, entitled "Reasons", is in Forth's handwriting.

c) A letter from Robert Ryce⁵ acknowledges the receipt of three "tractes" sent by Winthrop which he critically examines, placing his comments under the following headings:—

1. "The Fyrst tract of 7 generall articles." From the references he makes this must have been the "General Conclusions," (A.)
2. "The Seconde tracte of five particular respects." This agrees with the "Particular Considerations," (B.)
3. "Somewhat briefly of the thyrde tracte." This deals with White's Observations in some form. He makes no reference to a paragraph inserted in No. IV, which does not occur either in Nos. I or II; it may be assumed that Winthrop had sent him No. II, May, 1629, Ryce's letter being written in August, before White could have handed Winthrop—if our theory is correct—an enlarged version in October that year.⁶

These extracts from Winthrop's correspondence are the only evidence produced to support Winthrop's claim to the authorship of the document in question, other than certain inferences made by his descendant, and the conclusion has been reached from these that neither Higginson nor White could by any possibility have had a hand in its production.

These are feeble grounds to support so great a claim; all combined can carry little weight against the contemporary endorsement of No. I, backed by the evidences of literary style and parallel passages or phrases from White's known works, for there is scarcely a paragraph in No. I which cannot be matched, either in actual wording or in the same thought slightly differently expressed, by quotations from books known to have been written by John White and printed long before Winthrop's descendant made his extraordinary claim on behalf of the Governor's authorship.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁶ For one of his drafts Winthrop used the back of a letter from a correspondent, which, though fragmentary, appears to be a series of comments on either the Observations or the Reasons which had been, probably, sent him by Winthrop.

Only a few quotations can be given here, but these should be sufficient to show, by the thoughts and the form of literary expression, that the minister, an author well-known in his day and generation, was wholly responsible for the "General Observations", though the lawyer may have copied, enlarged and modified the material which passed into his hands in May, 1629, and later.

PARALLELS

Gen. — First Three Books of Genesis,

P. P. — Planters Plea.

T. J. — Troubles of Jerusalem.

T. V. — Ten Vows.

[Number of paragraph and of the line in the *typed copy* are given.]

Par. line

1. 2. . . . to raise a bulwark against the Kingdom of antichrist which the Jesuits labour to rear in all parts of the world.
T. J. p. 61. . . . let it be a shame to us that their [the Jesuits'] zeal in upholding the kingdom of antichrist should exceed ours in supporting the kingdom of Christ.⁷
2. 4. . . . other churches . . . brought to desolation, it cannot be but the like judgment is coming upon us.
T. V. . . . The Lord's indignation poured out upon neighbour churches . . . threatened unto us . . . and the expectation of the like judgments.
3. 8. The land groaneth under her inhabitants.
4. 10. We are grown to that height of intemperance as no man's estate will suffer him to keep sail with his equal . . . Hence trades are carried so deceitfully and unrighteously.
P. P. 10. . . . a man of good estate is not able to afford himself conveniences for his condition . . . [if the number in several callings were abated and the rest fully employed] the Commonwealth . . . would be eased of many burdens it groans under . . . a great part of their labour were needless, if their works were faithful and loyal; the deceitfulness of our works occasions the often renewing of things.
5. 16. The Fountains of learning and religion are corrupted . . . our children . . . corrupted . . . by evil examples and the licentious government of these seminaries.

⁷ Doyle considers unconvincing the arguments in favour of Winthrop's authorship of the *Observations* and recognizes the striking resemblance between these and the *Planters Plea* both in subjects and phraseology, yet he quotes the above "Observation" as telling against White's authorship, because he understands it to mean that the Jesuits were trying to "raise a bulwark" whereas it really means that the Jesuits labour to rear the kingdom of antichrist—who, in the parlance of the day, was the Pope.

T. V. 53. We have cause bitterly to bewail the condition of one of [the Universities] upon which is fallen the judgment pronounced Zech. 11. 17.

6. 19. The earth is the Lord's garden . . . given . . . to the sons of men . . . [many spend much labour to keep an acre while] they suffer whole countries useful and convenient . . . to be waste without inhabitants.

P. P. 2. [God's] gift of the earth to the sons of men.

P. P. 5. God hath made an advantage of some of these wars . . . which have laid many fruitful countries waste, to exercise men in these very labours which employ new planters.

P. P. 6. [Colonies are undertaken for the] replenishing of waste and void countries.

Objections

1. (1) 37. . . . a great wrong to take away godly people . . . many [who] . . . live in no use . . . than for their own . . . families may be employed to a more common good. . . . (3) the church will receive no loss.
 - P. P. 20-21. . . . able and godly persons . . . supporters of the State that sends them out, [which] by sparing them seems to be plucking away her own props. . . . If some . . . be spared we spare them to God and religion.
 - P. P. 43. Some persons of competent estates . . . considering that they lived . . . without useful employment at home, and might be serviceable . . . in planting a colony.
1. (4) 45. The Church since Christ's time . . . is universal . . . [who does good in any place serves] the church in all places.
1. (5) 50. [Gospel to be preached to Indians whether received or not.]
 - P. P. 21. The primitive churches . . . were content to spare some . . . pastors for the public service of the Church.
 - P. P. 23. . . . if we spare men [to convert the natives] we have reason to expect the supply of our loss.
- II. 52. We have feared a judgement . . . [the ruin of the churches in the Palatinate because they sat still] may teach us wisdom to avoid the plague.
 - T. V. . . . [the Lord's indignation on other churches threatening us] should quicken us . . . to consider how far we have been partakers in the causes of the fearful plagues.
- IV. 78. Such objections savour too much of the flesh, who can free himself or his friends from the like calamities here.
 - P. P. 19. An opinion that savours too much of self love. . . .
 - P. P. 32. Some pity the exposing of their friends unto so many dangers and inconveniences.
- V. (3) 84. . . . that which is common to all is proper to none, these savage people ramble over much land without title or property.⁸

⁸ For an elaboration of this see Nos. III & IV, containing Biblical quotations. This is discussed in introductory note above.

Gen. Book I, p. 113. [Title to any part of the earth derived from God] either immediately . . . by a natural title . . . or mediately . . . by a civil title; . . . natural title [gained] by . . . subduing any void portion; . . . the finest . . . civil title . . . gotten . . . from those which formerly possessed it.

87. God hath consumed these natives in a marvellous plague whereby a great part of their country is left void without inhabitants. We shall come in with good leave of the natives.

P. P. 14. [Much void ground is due to] the desolation [of] a three years' plague which . . . in some places, utterly consumed man, woman and child. . . Besides the natives invite us to sit down by them and offer us what ground we will. [Natural title because void; civil title from former possessors. F. R-T.]

VI. 92. . . . a great work . . . requires [more] skilful artificers to lay the foundations of a new building than to uphold and maintain that already built.

P. P. 19. . . . Governors . . . ministers . . . mechanics of all sorts . . . need to be of the more sufficiency because the first fashioning of a politic body is a harder task than the ordering that which is already framed, as the first erecting of a house is ever more difficult than the future keeping of it in repair.

VII. (2) 99. There were great fundamental errors in the other [Plantations] which are likely to be avoided in this for . . . their main end . . . was carnal and not religious, they aimed . . . at profit and not the propagation of religion . . . they used unfit instruments . . . the very scum of the land.

P. P. 27. [Refers to failure of plantations in Virginia, St. Christopher, and New-found-land, which he insinuates was because] hope and expectation of gain . . . perhaps hath either wholly set on, or strongly swayed these lately undertaken Colonies, but . . . where the service of the Church and . . . advancement of the Gospel is predominant, we may . . . depend upon God's engagement in the work . . . and . . . a prosperous success. . . The men whom they carrie . . . are well chosen and known to be useful and serviceable.

P. P. 19. . . . a common and gross error that Colonies ought to be . . . sinks of the State, to drain away their filth . . . This fundamental error hath been the occasion of the miscarriage of most of our colonies.

THE HUMBLE REQUEST

The/ Humble/Request of/ His Maiesties/ loyall Subjects, the Governour/ and the Company late gone for/ Nevv England,/ To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the/ Church of England./ For the obtaining of their Prayers,/ and the removall of suspitions, and mis-/ constructions of their intentions. [Ornament] London/ Printed for Iohn Bellamie, 1630.

Size:— 6¾" x 5".

Pages:— 1–10.

Sig. A₃ B₂

Stationers Company Records [Arber] IV. p. 235.

21st May, 1630.

Master Bellamy	{	Entred for his Copie vnder the hand of Master Austin a booke called the humble request of his majesties loyall subiects the gouernor and the Company late gone to New England to the rest of their brethren in the church of England. vjd
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B. L. Pamph. 28

C. U. L. Ll. 8.5.6.⁴⁶ (sel).

Reprinted:—

Joshua Scottow, *Massachusetts or The first Planters of New England*, Boston, 1696. pp. 1–5.

Hutchinson, *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, Boston, 1764. I. pp. 487–489.

Hubbard, *General History of New England*, Boston, 1815, pp. 126–128.

Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, Boston, 1846, pp. 293–299.

Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, Boston, 1867, II, pp. 10–12.

Eames & Ewell, *The Humble Request*, [Facsimile], Washington, 1905.

[It is said that this was probably printed by M. Flesher and that John Bellamie was a bookseller from 1620–40 at the Three Golden Lions, Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange,—*Early English Books in Cambridge University Library*, p. 996,—but see below.]

Note. The reasons for assigning this publication to John White are given at length in Chapter XV. It is well to emphasize the insufficiency of Ewell's objection that "the style of the Request is more easy and smooth than Mr.

White's, judging from what I have seen from his pen." [Facsimile edited by Wilberforce Eames and John Ewell, p. 9.] White's *Troubles of Jerusalem*, *Way to the Tree of Life*, the introductions to his sermons, contain many passages which for ease and grace stand preeminent above any of Winthrop's writings—his disjointed *Journal*, *Sermon on Christian Charity*, *Arbitrary Government*, and his letters, possess no literary qualities at all. Hubbard's statement and Cotton's remarks were never doubted until the last century.

It should be noted that the *Humble Request* was printed "for John Bellamie," the *Planters Plea* was printed "by William Jones," and that Cotton's *Sermon* was printed "by William Jones for John Bellamy." These were all brought out by Humfry nearly at the same date.

THE PLANTERS PLEA

The/ Planters/ Plea/ or/ the Grovnds of Plan-/ tations ex-
 amined,/ And vsuall Objections answered./ Together with a mani-
 festation of the causes mooving/ such as have lately vndertaken a
 Plantation in/ Nevv-England:/ For the satisfaction of those that
 question/ the lawfulness of the Action./ 2 Thes. 5. 21./ Prove
 all things, and holde fast that which is good./ [Ornament.⁹]

London,/ Printed by William Iones./ 1630.

Size:—7"x 5".

Pages:— ii, 1-84.

Sig. A₂ B—L₄ M₂

Stationers Company Records, [Arber] IV. p. 239.

8th July, 1630.

William Jones
 entered under the
 hands of Master Austen
 and both the Wardens

{ A briefe survey of the Colonyes of
 { New England. vjd.

[See second title below.]

Letter "To the Reader", 2 pages. "A briefe Svrview of Colonies: and
 first, of their Ground and Warrant."

B. M. C.33.c.10. B. L. 4^o Rawl. 362. [Formerly another copy in Pamph. 28
 which was removed after 1843 and noted as missing on 11th Nov. 1874.]
 C. U. L. Syn. 7.63.56².

Salisbury Cathedral Library.

[Over twenty copies are in American Collections, public and private. Copies
 have changed hands there at prices varying from fifty dollars in 1880 to
 three hundred and ten dollars in 1917. I am indebted to Dr. George Watson
 Cole, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Gabriel, Cali-
 fornia, for the above information.]

Reprinted:—

Force Tracts . . . relating to . . . the Colonies in North America, II. Wash-
 ington, 1838. No. III.

Young, Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay,
 Boston, 1846, p. 16.¹⁰

⁹ A heart, a single-petaled rose, and on each side a cornucopia emptying fruits.

¹⁰ Young states that the copy he transcribed had belonged to Increase
 Mather and had on its title-page in his handwriting, "Mr. White, of Dorchester,
 Author." p. 16, note.

Winsor, *The New England Indians*, etc., Boston, 1895.

Note. The text of this must have been circulated in manuscript before the departure of the emigrants of 1630, as Coddington says it influenced him and others to go to New England. [*Demonstration of True Love*, 1672, p. 12. *B. M. Tract* 855, f. 5 (10)]. In the introduction to Cotton's Sermon, Humfry writes that, because many may not know how full a ground and warrant out of the Word of God the Plantation hath hitherto proceeded, he had, with some difficulty, obtained leave of the Reverend Author to publish "a larger declaration of the first rise and ends of this enterprise" and its justification by God's word and other weighty circumstances, which should remove any scruples hitherto moved about it. [*B. M. Tract*, C. 93. f. 7. (15)]. In his introductory letter White apologises for "this rude draught, that sets forth certaine considerable grounds in planting Colonies, being wrested out of the Author's hand, hardly overlooked, much lesse filed and smoothed for the Press, [which] was never intended to be presented to publicke view, especially in this attire." Therein he declares his own opinion on Colonies in general, and this in particular, and desires that if men of better and more solid judgment wish to criticise these they should do so rather by "some private intimation than by publicke opposition," as he does not conceive "an argument of this nature, wherein neither God's glorie nor man's salvation have any necessary interest, (though the worke be directed to, and doth in good measure further, both) worth the contending for in a time when so many weighty controversies in the fundamentalls of religion are in agitation." However his intentions and opinions may be construed, he hopes the reader will believe "that the Gentlemen that are lately issued out from us, to lay the foundation of a colony in New-England, have not been thrust forward by unadvised precipitation, but led on by . . . probable grounds of reason and religion."

Frequent quotations appear throughout the foregoing pages showing his knowledge of the experiences of the colonists and their requirements for future success. My esteemed friend, the late Charles Deane, comments on its interest and value as giving a minute account of the first plantation. [*New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, 11, p. 151.] Alexander Young describes it as "an original contemporaneous authority of the highest value, as it contains facts relating to the earliest attempts at settlement in Massachusetts Bay, which can be found nowhere else . . . furnished by persons engaged as adventurers in these attempts." [*Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 16, note]. It possesses a still greater value in another direction, for it shows that in 1630 as well as throughout his life, he actively disapproved of the Separatist movement.

THE TROUBLES OF JERUSALEM

The/ Troubles/ of/ Jerusalems/ Restauration,/ or,/ The Churches Reformation,/ Represented/ In a Sermon preached before the Right Hono-/rable House of Lords, in the Abby Church/ Westminster, Novemb. 26. 1645./ By John White, Master of Arts, and Rector/ of the Church of the Holy Trinity in/ Dorchester in the County of Dorset./ Zach. 14.6.7./ And it shall come to passe in that day, that the light shall/ not be cleare, nor dark./ But it shall be one day, which shall be known to the Lord, not/day nor night, but it shall come to passe that at evening/time it shall be light./ Published according to Order./ London,/ Printed by M. Simmons for John Rothwell, and Luke Fawne, and are to be sold/at their Shops in Pauls Church-yard. 1646.

Size:— 7" x 5¼".

Pages:— ii, 1-62.

Sig.:— A₂ B—I₄

Stationers Company Records, [Plomer], II. p. 214.

xij February, 1645/6.

Master	{	Entr by order of ye Lords house of Parliamt a sermon
Fawne &		preched before ye Lords entituled The Troubles of Jerusalems
Master Jo:		Restauration or the Churches Reformacon, &c. the 27th Novem-
Rothwell		ber, 1645.

Dedication "to the Right Honourable, The House of Peers, assembled in Parliament." Signed, "Your Honours humble servant in the Lord Christ, John White."

Colophon. Jovis 27. Novemb. 1645. Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, That Mr. White, who preached yesterday in the Abby-Church Westminster before the Lords in Parliament, being the day of the Publique Fast, is hereby thanked for the great pains he took in the said Sermon; And desired to print and publish the same; which is only to be printed by Authority under his own hand, Jo: Browne, Cleric. Parliamentorum. I appoint John Rothwel and Luke Fawne to print this Sermon, and no other. John White.

B. M. 4476 aa 105; E 310 (1).
Lambeth Palace Library, 44 D. 5. (17).

B. L. Pamph. 75
F. R-T.

Note. In this sermon he expresses his views on the necessity of establishing a form of Presbyterian Church Government, and urges strongly the placing of the "power of the keys" in the hands of ministers, echoing his words uttered in the Lower House, as this had been bestowed upon them by Christ himself. His familiarity with the Bible is obvious in this book, but a careful examination shows that he does not quote any known translation; apparently he used the original Hebrew and Greek. [His reference to the wisdom of providing funds for poor students to study at Oxford & Cambridge reminds us of lines in a contemporary pamphlet, "News from the King at Bath":—

Those two most famous Universities,
Fair England's Beauty, and her starre-bright eyes
From whence there did such glorious light arise."

—*British Museum Tract*, E 290, (10).

A WAY TO THE TREE OF LIFE

A VVay to the Tree of Life:/ Discovered in Sundry/ Directions/ for the Profitable Reading/ of the/ Scriptvres:/Wherein is described occasionally/ The nature of a Spirituall Man:/ And, in a Digression,/ The Morality and Perpetuity of the Fourth/Commandment in every circumstance thereof,/ is discovered and cleared,/ By/Iohn White Master of Arts and/ Preacher of Gods Word in Dorchester/in the county of Dorset./ Search the Scriptures, for in them you think you have Eternall life. Iohn 5. 39./ London./ Printed by M.F. for R. Royston, at the Signe of the Angel in Ivy-lane, 1647.

[The copy in my possession has:—

Printed by M. F. for R. Royston, and are to be sold by Iohn Long Bookseller in Dorchester, 1647.]

Size:— 6½" x 4"

Pages:— xxiv. 1-349.

Sig.:—Blank leaf. Title-page A₄

8, a B—8 Y 6Z

Stationers Company Records, [Plomer], II. p. 255.

30th November, 1646.

Rich. Roiston entred under the hands of Master Carill and Master Whitaker Warden a booke called Directions for the reading of the scriptures with profitt, wth the description of a spirituall man both in his nature & operacions & the clearing & asserting of the morality of the fourth Commandmt in all things, by Mr John White of Dorchester. vjd.

[For quotations from this see pp. 208, 380]

Dedicatory Letter "To the Right Worshipfull the Mayor, etc. . . . of Dorchester." . . . 18 pp. Signed by "Your Humble Servant Iohn White." Letter "To the Author" signed "Your ancient and still true and faithfull Friend, and unworthy Brother, Tho: Goodwin." 4 pp. Table of Contents, 2 pp. Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures, 209 pp.

A/Digression/Concerning/ the/Morality/of the/Fourth Commandment./ By/ Iohn White Master of Arts and Preacher / of Gods word in Dorchester in the/ County of Dorset. [Ornament.] London,/Printed for Richard Royston,/ [Continuous paging but in Sections, not Chapters.] 213-299. Directions for the Profitable Reading, *Section IV*, to p. 340.

[Heading] An/Explication/of the following/Direction/ for the Reading of the Bible/over in a year./With an Exhortation to the necessary Use and Practice thereof./ to p. 344. Tables, 4 pp. Errata. Misquotations, 1 p.

B. M. 844. k. 7.

New College Library.

F.R.-T.

Note. The Digression concerning . . . the Fourth Commandment appears to have been an independent pamphlet; page 210 has been left blank and on 211 is the title-page described above; it differs from the first title-page, being enclosed in a frame, and the type used is not the same; it is divided into sections, not chapters. This may have been the Sermon on the Sabbath mentioned by "W. P.," see above p. 291. In the Table of Contents the seventh chapter, also divided into sections, is headed "That they which read the Scriptures must be men of Spirituall mindes," and deals with the duties of such. Thomas Goodwin, in his introductory letter, refers to "your description of a Spirituall man" and the title given in the Stationers Book contains these same words, which do not appear on the title-page of the volume—perhaps this was another sermon. The thirteenth chapter, also in sections, may be a sermon on "The Way to the Tree of Life," a title underlined on the first title-page.

In his *Athenæ Oxoniensis* [III. p. 237], Wood attributes to White the following works:—

"Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures.—Printed in oct. *Of the Sabbath.*—Printed in qu.

Way to the Tree of Life, in sundry Directions.—Pr. 1647. oct. 'Tis the same, I think, which is called '*The Directory to Perfection.*'"

The Directory to Perfection is by another John White, but the other three named may have been issued separately and then, with a few connecting paragraphs in some cases, combined into the volume before us.

The dedicatory letter to the Mayor, etc., contains much information about events in the town—see Chapter XXVIII. Elaborate instructions for reading the Scriptures fill more than two hundred pages, and at the end is a table of chapters to be read daily, two from the Old and one from the New Testament.

A somewhat unsuccessful attempt has been made to unify this miscellaneous contents.

A copy of the *Way to the Tree of Life*, which had belonged to Simon Bradstreet, and bore his autograph, was presented to John Wingate Thornton by a friend. [*N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, 33, p. 279.]

A SERMON

A/Sermon preached at/Dorchester/in/the County of Dorcet, at the Ge/nerall assizes held the 7 of March, 1632./ By John White of Dorchester, Rector of the Church of/the Holy Trinity./ Prov. 24 verse 21./ My son feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change./ London/Printed in the yeare, 1648./

Size:— $7\frac{1}{8}$ " x $5\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Pages:— iv + v + 31.

Sig.:—A₄ a₂ B—E₄

Introductory Letter, signed "your Friend and Servant W. P. Dorchester, Sep. 14, 1647. For my friend Mr. G. S. at the Sign of the — in Watling-street, London, these." 4 pp. Dedication "To the Right honourable Sir Thomas Richardson, Knight, Lord Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench and Sir John Denham Knight, one of the Barons of the Court of the Exchequer, And the Right Worshipfull John Browne of Frampton esquire, high Sheriffe . . . signed by "your humble servant in the Lord Christ John White." 5 pp.

A Sermon Preached at Dorchester at the Generall Assises held there the 7th of March, 1632, 31 pp.

[N.B. There is no printer's name on the title-page.]

B. M. E 469 (5) [MS. note on title-page "8ber ye 27th."]

For an account of this sermon see Chapter XXII.

DAVID'S PSALMS

Davids/Psalms/in Metre,/Agreeable to the He/brew,/ To be sung
in usuall/Tunes./To the benefit of the/ Churches of Christ/ By
the Reverend Mr. John White/ Minister of Gods Word in/Dor-
chester./ I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with/the
understanding also. I Cor. 14, 15./ London/ Printed by S. Griffin
for J. Rothwel,/at the Fountain and Bear in Goldsmiths/row in
Cheapside, 1655.

Size:— 5" x 2½".

Pages:— iv. 1-371.

Sig.:— A₆ B—Y₁₂ Z₆

"A/Preface/concerning this/ Metrical/ Version," signed by Stanley Gower,
Dorchester, June, 13, 1655. 8 pp.

B. M. E. 1699.

[The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Gabriel, California, possesses a copy having on its title-page "London, S. Griffin for J. Rothwel, sold by William Churchil in Dorchester, 1655." I am indebted to Dr. George Watson Cole, Librarian, for this information.]

Note. This was published after White's death; Gower describes himself in the preface as "his unworthy successor" in the rectories of Dorchester, and mentions the controversy on psalm-singing [See p. 347 above]:— What hath been objected to breed a discord and what has been answered to maintain the holy Harmony, with marginal references to the treatment of the subject by John Cotton, Thomas Ford, and Thomas Manton. White, a burning and a shining light in these Western parts, had been, he writes, desired by many to print his version in his life-time, but would not do so because "some others were at that time under Consultation, and struggling which should get the Civil Sanction;" the contest over, his son was prevailed upon to publish it. Many had essayed to improve the Old English version to which they had been wedded by custom, but in Gower's opinion, "if the Reverend Authour have not surpassed them all he may yet challenge a place, not amongst David's thirty, but amongst his first three." His first and twenty-third Psalm compare favourably with other versions of that day [Quotations from a number of contemporary versions of the Psalms are given in Baillie's *Letters*, ed. Laing, III, p. 528 *et seq.*] These two and the Old Hundredth are appended that the reader may judge for himself:—

Thrice blessed is he; that to walk
in ill mens counsel fears;
Nor stands in sinners way, nor sits
at rest in Scorners chairs.

My Shepherd is the living Lord,
and he that doth me feed,
I cannot then want any thing
Whereof I stand in need.

In pastures green of tender grasse
he makes me down to ly,
And leads me gently by the streams
that run so quietly.

All people that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful noise;
The Lord with gladnesse serve and come
before his face with singing voice.

* * * * *

Because the Lord our God is good,
his mercy is forever sure,
His truth at all times firmly stood
and shall from age to age endure.

A COMMENTARY ON GENESIS

A/ Commentary/ Upon the Three First/ Chapters/ of/ The First Book of Moses/ Called/ Genesis./ By that Reverend Divine/ John White/ Late Preacher of Gods Word at/ Dorchester in the County of Dorset./ Search the Scriptures, For in them ye think ye have Eternal Life, and they/ are they which testife of me, John 5. 39./ For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: For he wrote of me./ But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words, John 5/46, 47./ London,/ Printed by John Streater, and are to be sold by George Calvert,/ at the Sign of the Half-Moon, and Joseph Nevill, at/the Plough in the New Buildings in Paul's/Church-Yard, 1656.¹¹

Size:— 10" x 7¼".

Pages:— xi. 1-497.

Sig.:— A₄ a—d₂ B—R₄ S₂ Bb—Qq₄
Aa—ZZ₄—Aaa—Fff₄ Ggg₆

Dedication:— "To the Honourable Denzil Hollis, Esq.," signed by John White, son of the writer, the editor, 2 pp. Letter commendatory by Mr. Stephen Marshall, from Ipswich, December 12, 1653, 1p. "To the Reader" by Tho. Manton, 2 pp. Table of . . . Observations, 8 pp. Book I, 1-132. Book II, 1-121. Book III, 1-244.

B. M. 3104. c. 24.

F. R-T.

Note. This was published after White's death by his son John, who dedicated it to Holles, one of his father's hearers, "as an acknowledgment of your great friendship and the several courtesies he had received from you." Stephen Marshall styles the book, "a most excellent, Learned, Judicious and Holy Piece worthy of Mr. White his Heart and Pen, the farther I proceed in it, the more I am delighted; the Exposition solid, the Observations most of them clearly raised, strongly proved, excellently applied," but he "sticks" at one, for he "cannot consent to have Satans practice propounded as a Direction." Thomas Manton commends the author's "peculiar excellency . . . for besides a solid Exposition of the Text, the deducing of Apt and pertinent Observations, together with fit and proper Reasons to each Point, which with what Judgment and Acuteness it is performed, I leave to the Reader to judge."

¹¹ Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, III, 238, gives "1656, 57," as dates of issue, but no other reference to two editions is known.

The text treats the three chapters verse by verse, with observations for practical and personal application. It was obviously left unfinished by White, as towards the end comments are less profuse, in some cases subjects are merely outlined.

Although published anonymously, the two pamphlets described below are almost certainly from White's pen.

THE FEARFUL BURNING OF DORCHESTER.

[Issued with "Fire from Heaven", with separate title-page.]

Hereunto is annexed/ the lamentable and fearfull burning/ of
the towne of Dor/chester, upon the 6 of August/ last 1613.

Size:— $7\frac{1}{2}$ " x $4\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Pages:— 6, unnumbered.

B.M. Tracts, c.27. b.36.

Note. This volume contains two pamphlets; the first, "Fire from Heaven", relates the horrible fate, on 20th June, 1613, of John Hitchell, who was struck by lightning but lived, smouldering, for three days and nights. This was "Printed at London for John Trundle and are to be sold at his shop in Barbican at the signe of nobody 1613." The other, the account of the burning of Dorchester, has its title-page printed on the back of the last leaf of the preceding pamphlet and is in an entirely different type throughout. It appears to have been added after the other was ready for issue.

The contents are given at length in Chapter VI, and it was reprinted by the late Rev. W. Miles Barnes of Winterbourne Monkton, Dorchester, in 1892.

The/ Covenant/ with/ a Narrative/ of/ the Proceedings and Solemn
Manner of/ Taking it by the Honourable House of/ Commons, and
Reverend Assembly of/ Divines the 25th day of Septem/ber, at
Saint Margarets in Westminster./ Also/ Two Speeches/ Delivered
at the same time,/ The one/ By Mr. Philip Nye,/ The other/ By
Mr. Alexander Henderson./ London./ Tho. Vnderhill at the Bible
in Wood/ Street, 1643.

Size:— $7\frac{3}{4}$ " x $5\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Pages:— 1-34.

B. M. Tracts, 491. d. 24.

Note. This is quoted at length in Chapter XXVI, and the reasons are there given for attributing it to John White.

APPENDIX III

MEMBERS OF THE DORCHESTER COMPANY

Two lists of the members of the Dorchester Company are found in the *Court of Requests Uncalendared Bundles*, Nos. 630, 676. The Complainants name ninety; John White gives one hundred and twenty-one but as he repeats two names, Snooke and Vyney, the correct number of members appears to be one hundred and nineteen.¹

To the names in White's list here given are attached, where possible, brief biographical notes; the dates of birth in some cases are only approximate, being calculated from entries at Oxford or from dates in depositions; they are, however, sufficient to indicate that all were of mature years. This list appears to include all those who became members during the three or four years of the Company's existence. Of the fourteen persons whom Whiteway gives as forming the "New England Planters Parliament" at Dorchester on 31st March, 1624, all appear in this list except John Keate, instead of whom Thomas Keate is given. As these may be accounted founders of the Company, those then present are indicated in the following list.

The proportion of clergy, twenty-one in, say, one hundred and twenty, is remarkable; twelve of the Company were at some period members of Parliament, either for Dorset or Devon. Two, "Century White" and John Geering, were Feoffees for Improvements. Many were persons of high standing in the locality and all were staunch Puritans. It is, therefore, absurd to maintain that men holding such positions and noted for their Puritanism were banded together in nothing more than a fishing and trading venture and that they had no thought of providing a refuge for Puritans of their own particular way of thinking until Dudley and his friends suggested the introduction of a religious purpose into a purely business undertaking. Twenty-one country minis-

¹ John Snooke of Templecombe appears both among those of Somerset and of Dorset; this may be a slip. Christopher Vyney of Walterston is among the Dorset men and the name occurs between two members said to be in New England. No one of his name is recorded as an emigrant, though there was a Rebecca Vinor.

ters, possessed of little spare cash, would have been unlikely to speculate in a hazardous fishing adventure off the New England coast, and it is worth noting by way of contrast that there were only three ministers, White, Peter, and Davenport, found as subscribers to the New England Company, while Glover in addition joined the Massachusetts Bay Company,—the number of those who are known to have been members of the latter company before the transfer to New England was almost exactly the same as those belonging to the Dorchester Company.

Reputed copies of White's list have appeared in the *New England Historic-Genealogical Register*, 61, pp. 278/9, and in *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, 17, p. 107, but these are merely reproductions of the copy made by the late Mr. F. J. Pope of Dorchester, Dorset, as all repeat a slip he made in giving as a member "Mere Morton," while the original informs us that Periam Pole, Esq., dwelt "neere Morton," i.e. Moreton Hampstead, Devon. To other slight inaccuracies the transcribers have added more and have made reckless guesses at the identity of the persons named.

Abbreviations:—

B. — Rev. R. G. Bartelot.

F. — Foster's Alumni Oxoniensis.

M. — Mayo's Municipal Documents.

New England Planters Parliament held at Dorchester, 31st March, 1624.

P. — Pope MSS., Dorchester.

S. & D. N. & Q. — Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries.

V. — Dorset Visitation.

W.W. — Whiteway's Diary.

[Numbers do not occur in the original but are here inserted for easier reference.]

1. Sir Francis Ashley, knight.

3rd son Anthony Ashley, of Damerham, Wilts; of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1589; Barrister, Sergeant-at-law; Knighted, 1618. Recorder of Dorchester and M. P. for the Borough, 1614-25.

d. 2nd November, 1635. Will (P.C.C. 44 Pile) pro. 19 May, 1636.

[His daughter & heiress married Denzil Holles.]

2. William Whiteway, the elder. [Merchant.]

A prominent merchant of Dorchester, holding many public offices.

b. c. 1570. d. 1639.

Will (P.C.C. 60 Coventry) pro. 6 May, 1640.

3. Joseph Underwood.

[Grocer.]

Son John Underwood, bp. (Trinity, Dorchester) 25 March, 1586.

Mar. 25 Apr., 1607, Rachel Edwards; she was bur. 19 April, 1631. [B.]

[One of his name with a brother Thomas settled in Hingham, Mass., 1637.]

4. John Cooke. [Mercer.]
Bur. (Trinity, Dorchester,) 26 Apr. 1641.
Will (P.C.C. 127 Evelyn) 23 Apr. 1641, pro. 26 Oct. following.
5. William Loder.
Son John Loder, bp. at Stinsford, 20 Apr. 1570.
mar. (1) Anne Watts, 1 May, 1580, (2) Eliz. Denit, 28 July, 1589. [B.]
6. Patroclus Cooke.
Beadle of the Freemen of Dorchester, 1621.
Bur. (Trinity) as Patroclius Cooke 18 Jan. 1657/8. [B.]
Will (P.C.C. 257 Wootten) dated 3 Jan. 1657/8. [B.]
7. Josias Terry. [Haberdasher.]
Probably Josiah Terry, son John Terry of Stockton, Wilts, by Mary, sister of John White, who was bp. 25 May, 1597.
Bur. (Trinity,) 25 Oct. 1667. [B.]
8. Edmund Dashwood. [Clothier.]
Son John Dashwood, bp. at West Stafford, 6 July, 1588.
Mar. Thomasine, dau. John Henning, Esq., of Poxwell,
d. "5 Idus Feb. 1666, aet. 78" (Tomb.) [B.]
Bur. (Trinity,) 14 Feb. 1666.
9. John Hill. [Ironmonger.]
3rd son Roger Hill of Pounsford in Pitminster, Somerset. [V.]
b. c.1589.
[New England Planters Parliament.]
10. Henry Maber. [Clothier.]
Son Marshall Maber, of Hillfield in Sydling. [B.]
b. (Sydling) 2 Dec. 1588. Mar. (St. Peter's) "Mrs Martha Darbie, widow," 4 Aug. 1657. [B.]
Bur. (St. Peter's) "Mr Henry Maber, magistrate," 2 Oct. 1667. [B.]
11. Gilbert Loder. [Attorney.]
b. c.1590.
Bur. (St. Peter's) 5 Dec. 1656 [B.] Will (P.C.C. 90 Ruthyn).
[Gilbert Loder of Dorchester, gent., in 1636 claimed that in 1634 he possessed a cow, a calf, and a steer "depasturing in New England" in the charge of Nicholas Upsall, a kinsman of George Way. These were taken over and sold by Way. [Court of Requests, Charles I Bundle 88 (P.P.)]]
12. Dennis Bond. [Woollen-draper.]
Son John Bond of Lutton in Purbeck and father of John Bond, minister of the Savoy. M.P. for Dorchester, 1640.
[When dying in 1658 was in much anxiety of spirit; the vulgar talk was that the Devil came to take away Cromwell, at the same time on his death-bed, who was not prepared to go; "he gave *Bond* for his future appearance, and on 3 September made good his promise."] d. 30 Aug. 1658.

13. George Way. [Glover.]
A Merchant Adventurer, sending ships to New England; partner with his brother-in-law, Thomas Purchase, in the *Bishopscotte* grant. Will (P.C.C. 155 Evelyn) 1 Oct. 1641; pro. 3 Dec. 1641.
14. James Gould. [Clothier.]
Son John Gould of Dorchester, bp. (St. Peter's) 21 July, 1593.
Mar. Margery, dau. George Savage, Esq., of Bloxworth, 1624. [B.]
Bur. (St. Peter's) 15 Feb. 1675/6. Will, 29 Oct. 1675.
[Nephew of wife of William Whiteway and father of James Gould M.P. and grandfather of the Countess of Abingdon.] [B.]
[W. W. f. 70 says he was 36 in 1624.]
[New England Planters Parliament.]
15. William Derby. [Mercer.]
b. at Beaminster, c.1588; mar. Mary dau. Joseph Bradstocke of Witchampton, 19 Apr. 1615. [V.]
Bur. (Trinity,) 1649. [B.]
Town Clerk of Dorchester, 1629-48. [B.]
Under Sheriff of Dorset, 1649.
[Father of Joseph (also Town Clerk), Matthew, Paul & Anthony (see Nos. 110, 111.)] [B.] [New England Planters Parliament.]
16. Thomas Devenish. [Keeper of Dorchester Gaol.]
b. c.1589.
17. Robert Coker. [Goldsmith.]
Son Thomas Coker of Dorchester; b. c.1579.
Bur. (St. Peter's,) 4 Jan. 1654/5. [B.]
[He or his son must have been the goldsmith from whom Captain Sydenham "borrowed" plate in his raid on Dorchester, 1644. See above p. 307]
18. Benjamin Devenish. [Tailor.]
Son Robert Devenish of Bradford Peverel; bp. 20 Sept. 1574.
Bur. (Trinity,) 12 Sept. 1643. Will, 8 Aug. 1643.
[His son was Rev. Benjamin Devenish of Corfe Castle.] [B.]
19. Bernard Toup. Of Chaldon, (now East Chaldon.)
Mar. Hannah, dau. George Hardy of Compton Abbas, 5 Sept. 1654.
d. 7 Nov. 1635. [B.]
20. Richard Savage. [Woollen-draper.]
Bur. (St. Peter's,) 2 Aug. 1669. [Mr. Richard Savage, Magistrate.] [B.]
21. John Blachford. [Woollen merchant.]
Mar. (Trinity,) Margaret Membury, 6 Oct. 1610.
Bur. (Trinity,) 23 Nov. 1632. [B.]
22. Richard Bury. [Grocer.]
d. before 1668.
Elected feoffee of Dorchester Free School, 24 Mar. 1640/1. One of "Dorset Commitetee", 1646. [B.]

23. Humphry Joliffe. [Gentleman.]
 b. 1583. Mar. Christian, dau. John Fry. [B.]
 Bur. 27 Dec. 1653 [B.]
 An attorney of Dorchester [B.] and Steward of the manors of Sir
 Edward Laurence, 1627-31.
24. William Spering. [Gentleman.]
 ? Son Thomas Spering. [B.] b. c.1580.
 Bur. (St. Peter's,) 1 Sept. 1654. [B.]
25. Richard Watts. [Mason.]
26. Matthew Bonger. [Baker.]
 Mar. (Trinity,) Margery Hardy, 24 Sept. 1607. [B.]
 Bur. 12 Feb. 1637/8.
 [His shop was near East end of St. Peter's Church.]
27. John White. [Clerk.]
"all of Dorchester in the County of Dorset and"
28. Michael Humfry. [Gentleman.]
 Of East Chaldon and of Dorchester.
 Mar. 2dly (Bridport,) Martha Pride, 4 July, 1615. [B.]
 d. (in London) 3 Apr. 1626. [W.W.] Admon. granted to his son John, 24
 April, 1626.
 Alderman and magistrate (Dorchester,) 1625. [B.]
 Clerk to Viscount Bindon.
 Father of John Humfry below.
29. William Whiteway, the younger. [Merchant.]
The Diarist, son William Whiteway, b. c.1599. d. 1635. Will (P.C.C. 94
 Sadler) pro. 7 Sept. 1635. [New England Planters Parliament.]
30. William Tilly. [Clerk.]
 ? of Broadgates Hall, Oxford, from Devon. b. c.1563. [F.]
 d. 18 Aug. 1634.
 Rector of Broadwindsor [predecessor of Thomas Fuller,] 1598.
31. John Terry. [Clerk.]
 b. 1555.
 Rector of Stockton, Wilts, 1589.
 Brother-in-law of John White; see p. 24.
32. Richard Bushrod. [Haberdasher and Merchant Adventurer.]
 Son John Bushrod of Sherborne, mar. Dorothy, sister of John Watts. [B.]
 d. 1 July, 1628. Will (P.C.C. Ridley).
 Bailiff of Dorchester, 1621. [B.]
 M.P. for Dorchester, 1625/6.
 Obtained licence for voyage to New England, (see above p. 59)
 [New England Planters Parliament.]
33. Robert Miller. [Felt-maker.]
 Of Bridport. Mar. Cicelie . . . [B.]
 d. [of plague], bur. 21 Sept. 1626. [B.] Will (P.C.C. 145 Hale) 1626.

34. Robert Cheeke. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1572. Of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, from Somerset [F.]
 d. 8 July, 1627.
 Schoolmaster at Dorchester.
 Rector of All Saints, [see above p. 36]
35. Miles Bownes. [Clerk.]
 b. 1585.
 d. 1630. Will (P.C.C. 98 Scrope) pro. by relict Eleanor, 17 Nov. 1630.
 Of Queen's College, Oxford. [F.]
 Rector of Hampreston, inst. 1614.
36. Christopher Erle, Esq., [Barrister.]
 2nd son Thomas Erle by Dorothy, dau. Sir William Pole of Shute.
 [Brother of Sir Walter Erle.]
 b. c.1590.
 d. 29 March, 1634. Bur. (Temple Church,) 4 April, 1634.
37. Edward Frencham. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1570. Of Magdalen College, Oxford, from Sussex, "cler. fil." [F.]
 d. 18 June, 1628.
 Rector of Compton Valence, 1604-1628.
38. Walter Newburgh. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1596. Mar. 1st Katherine Strode of Stoke Abbas, [B.] 2nd Jane,
 dau. John Browne of Frampton. [She remar. Dr. John Stoughton.]
 Of Hart Hall, from Dorset. [F.]
 d. 27 May, 1631. Bur. 2 June, 1631. [B.] Will (P.C.C. 111 Audley) pro.
 7 Nov. 1632.
 Rector of Symondsbury, Dorset, 1624-32.
39. Johan Gould, widow.
 b. 1549; dau. of . . . Leddoze of Wyke Regis, widow of James Gould of
 Fordington. [B.]
 d. 9 Dec. 1630. [W.W.] Will (P.C.C. 109 Scrope) pro. 22 Dec. 1630.
 [Cousin of William Whiteway, the Diarist.]
 [Left generous bequests to poor, etc., of Dorchester.]
40. Giles Miller [Meller] [Gentleman.]
 6th son Sir John Meller of Came, and bro. Sir Robert Meller.
 d. before 1634. [B.]
41. John Pitt. [Merchant.]
 Of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.
 Will (P.C.C. 22 Hele) pro. 1626.
42. Matthew Pitt. [Merchant.]
 Son Richard Pitt of Crickett Malherbe, Somerset.
 d. (London,) 18 Apr. 1624. [W.W.] Will (P.C.C. 97 Byrde) 10 Oct.
 1623, pro. by relict Philippa, 19 Nov. 1624, who was dau. of Robert Wel-
 steed (see below No. 63.).
 [Father of Philippa Pitt, (see above p. 299)]
 Member for Melcombe Regis.

43. John Long. [Bookseller.]
Of Dorchester.
d. 20 Dec. 1632. [W.W.]
First Governor of the Freemen of Dorchester, 1629.
[His son of the same name carried on the business and sold John White's works, (see above p. 439).]
44. Edward Clerke. [Clerk.]
Mar., as 2nd wife, Anne, dau. Herbert Pelham, at Fordington 3 May, 1621; she was sister of Eliz. 2nd wife John Humfry.
d. 31 Dec. 1630. Will (P.C.C. 41 St. John) pro. 18 Apr. 1631.
Assistant to John White, 1620-1625.
Removed to Taunton in July, 1625, [W.W.]
Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton, 1628. [Weaver.]
[New England Planters Parliament.]
45. John Guy. [Clerk.]
? Rector of Bryanston, Dorset.
[Preached at the funeral of Sir Robert Meller, Sept. 1624, (W.W.)].
46. John Savage.
47. Matthias Nicholles. [Clerk.]
b. c.1586. Of New College, Oxford, from Bucks, gent. [F.]
Bro. of Ferdinando Nichols.
d. 15 Aug. 1631. [W.W.] Will (P.C.C. 107 St. John) pro. 10 Oct. 1631.
Rector of Mells, Somerset; inst. 4 Jan. 1619. [His successor was inst. 29 Feb. 1620.]
Minister of God's Word at Plymouth, Devon, 1630.
[Witnessed will of John White's father.]
48. Steven White. [Gentleman.]
Bro. of John White. (See pedigree.)
49. William Roydon.
[of Fordington? "Mrs. Rodden bur. at Fordington, 18 Apr. 1638; Christina Rowden and Ambrose Way mar. there 18 Apr. 1631." [B.]
50. John Jope. [Merchant.]
Of Plymouth. Mar. Elizabeth Davis (Trinity,) 22 Sep. 1573. [B.]
Will (P.C.C. 3 St. John) pro. by Elizabeth, relict, 26 Jan. 1630/1.
[Perhaps the "Mr. Jope" mentioned in will of Matthias Nicholles, (No. 47 above)].
- "all sithence deceased
and*
51. Sr Richard Strode of Chalmington, knt. and of Newnham, Devon.
bp. 1 July, 1584.
Bur. 9 Oct. 1669.
Will (P.C.C. Penn) 20 July, 1669. pro. 27 July, 1670.
M.P. for Beer Alston, for Bridport, and for Plymouth.
[New England Planters Parliament.]

52. Sr Walter Erle of Charborough, knight.
 Elder son Thomas Erle by Dorothy, sister Sir William Pole.
 b. 1586. Bur. 1 Sept. 1665.
 Knighted 4 May, 1616.
 M.P. for Poole, Lyme Regis, and for Weymouth.
 Of Queen's College, Oxford. [F.]
 ["Governor of the New England Plantation,"—(see above p. 63)]
53. John Browne of Frampton, Esq.
 Son Sir John Browne of Frampton, b. c.1582.
 d. 16 May, 1659.
 Of Magdalen College, Oxford.
 Of the Middle Temple.
 M.P. for Bridport, and for Dorset. [F.]
 [New England Planters Parliament.]
54. Margaret Allen of Bloxworth, widow.
55. William Smith of Winterbourne St. Martyn.
56. Thomas Purchase then of Dorchester.
 ? Son Oliver Purchase. [B.] b. c.1578.
 d. 11 May, 1678, aged 101.
 Emigrated to New England, where he was partner with his brother-in-law George Way in the Bishopscotte grant.
 [In one list Sir Martyn Thomas replaces Thomas Purchase.]
57. John Sacheverell of Stoak, clerk. [Clerk.]
 Son John Sacheverell of Buckland, Dorset, [V.]
 Rector of East Stoke.
 [Ancestor of the famous Dr. Sacheverell.]
 [Probably he read the articles against Featley at Lambeth,— (see above p. 331)]
58. William Bradish Clerke Doctor in Divinity of Puddletown.
 Will, 7 Oct. 1638. [P.]
 Rector of Puddletown and Athelhampton, Jan. 1623.
 [His bro., Stephen Bradish of Ireland, "went beyond seas."] [B.]
 [New England Planters Parliament.]
59. George Hardy of Compton Abbas. [Gentleman.]
 Son John Hardy, bp. 1 Jan. 1580/1. [B.]
 Bur. 6 Nov. 1654. [B.]
 [See Bernard Toup, No. 19 above.]
60. John Ball of Langton. [Clerk.]
 d. 20 Oct. 1639. Will (P.C.C. 52 Coventry) 4 June, 1639, pro. 29 Apr. 1640.
 Rector of Langton Matravers, 1618.
 Cousin of John White, [See p. 21].
61. Edward Pele of Compton Valence aforesaid. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1582. Of Queen's College, Oxford, from Cumberland. [F.]
 d. 6 May, 1643. [B.] Will (P.C.C. Fairfax) pro. by relict, Alice, Aug. 1643.

Vicar of Fordington, 1617.

Rector of Compton Valence, inst. 28 June, 1629.

[Member of the Assembly of Divines.]

62. Henry Manifold of Long Burton. [? Tanner.]
 Bur. 6 Dec. 1642.
 Will (P.C.C. 240 Fines) 23 Apr. 1642, pro. 20 Nov. 1647.
63. Robte Welsteed of Bloxworth aforesaid. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1570.
 Of Magdalen College, Oxford, from Somerset. [F.]
 Bur. 14 Nov. 1651 (aged 79). [B.]
 Will (P.C.C. 50 Bowyer) pro. 12 Feb. 1651/2.
 Rector of Bloxworth, inst. 1 Sept. 1597.
 [His daughter married Matthew Pitt.]
64. Robbte Veare sometymes of Fordington.
 Mar. (Winterborne Kingston,) Agnes Bezant, 23 Jan. 1625.
 Bur. (Fordington,) 26 Sept. 1669. [B.]
65. Christopher Vyney of Walterston.
66. Giles Stoodly the younger of Broade Winsor, [Gentleman.]
67. Willm Willes of Puddletowne aforesaid.
 ? of Wimborne Minster, yeoman.
 Will, 1636, S. & D. N. & Q., V. p. 198.
68. James Mew of Caundle.
 Of Caundle Purse Manor House.
 Son Ellis Mew, bro. of Dr. Peter Mew, Bishop of Winchester. [B.]
69. Thomas Kete of Chesselborne. [Gentleman.]
 Son Edward Kete.
 d. ante 1663.
 [John Keate was member of the "New England Planters Parliament."]
70. Thomas Pelham of Compton Valence aforesaid Esq.
 Son Herbert Pelham of Compton Valence by his 2nd wife, Eliz. West,
 eldest dau. of Lord de la Warre.
 Mar. Blanche, dau. Robert Eyre, 4 Sept. 1620. [For Eyre see above p.
 248].
71. Robert Raw of Bettiscomb, gent.
 Mar. Elizabeth, dau. Francis Hardy, gent, of Upsidling, Dorset.
 Bur. (Bridport,) 19 May, 1646. [B.]
72. Walter Burges of Buckland. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1580. Of Oriel College, Oxford, from Dorset. [F.]
 Vicar of Buckland Rippers, inst. 1608.
 Parliamentary Return, 1650, "Mr. Walter Burgess, an able man as minister."
 Afterwards Preacher at Radipole. [Bayley, *Civil Wars.*]

73. Josias Cooth of Sherborne. [Linen-draper.]
[See Bayley, *Civil Wars*.]
74. John Galton of Lulworth. [Clerk.]
Son John Galton of Bere Regis, [B.], b. c.1580.
Of University College, Oxford, from Dorset. [F.]
d. 1662.
Chaplain of New College.
Vicar of East Lulworth, inst. 1609.
Vicar of Combe Keynes, 1611.
75. William Tucker of Beaminster. [Mercer.]
Will, 8 March, 1654.
76. Johane Derby of Beaminster aforesaid, widow.
[Mother of William Derby, Town Clerk of Dorchester.] [B.]
Will (P.C.C. 62 Pile) 9 Aug. 1636.
77. Nicholas Polden of Caundle.
78. Robert Whetcombe of Sherborne. [Merchant, Gentleman.]
Son John Whetcombe and bro. Simon Whetcombe.
79. Nathaniel Heighmore of Caundle. [Clerk.]
b. c.1585. Of St. Alban's Hall, from Southants, gent. [F.]
Rector of Goathill and of Caundle Purse, 1614.
[Signed Protestation, 1641/2.]
80. John Snook of Temple Combe.
[Sidesman of Templecombe Church, 1608.—S. & D. N. & Q., VII. p. 233.]
81. Giles Green of Afflington, gent.
Of Afflington in Corfe Castle, and of Motcombe. [B.]
Mar. Elizabeth dau. . . . Hill of Pounsford Park, Som. [B.]
Bur. (St. Benet Fink, London,) 5 Jan. 1655/6.
Will, 21 Dec. 1655. [B.]
M.P. for Weymouth and for Corfe Castle.
Came to Dorchester in 1634. [W.W.]
[His dau. Dorothy mar. Walter Yonge.]
82. William Harvy of Langton Matravers.
and
83. William Golsney of Holnest.
b. c.1590.
Under Sheriff of Dorset, 1630. [B.]
"all of the said County of Dorset and"
84. Laurence Adyn
and
85. Charles Adyn, living about Shrewsbury in Shroshire.

86. Josuah Martyn living about Yeavell in the County of Somerset. [Mercer.]
87. Amias Martyn of Ireland. [Mercer.]
Son of Adam Martyn of Seaborough, Somerset.
88. William Gould neere Exon in the County of Devon.
Of Hayes near Exeter.
Son Edward Gould of Staverton and nephew John Gould of Dorchester.
d. 23 March, 1635. Will (P.C.C. 99 Goare) pro. 1637.
89. Henry Gould.
Of Floyershayes by Exeter, bro. of the above.
d. 4 Sept. 1636.
Will (P.C.C. 119 Pile) pro. 31 Dec. 1636, by relict, Anne.

and
90. Edward Gould brothers of the said William Gould.
Of Staverton, Devon.
d. 26 March, 1628.
Will (P.C.C. 37 Barrington) 5 March, 1627/8, pro. 16 May, 1628.
91. Francis Crossing of Exon.
Son Hugh Crossing, Mayor of Exeter; b. c.1597 or 1601?
Of Balliol College, Oxford. [F.]
Mar. Elizabeth, dau. Matthew Pitt of Crickett Malherbe, q.v. [No. 42.]
Will (P.C.C. 101 Harvey) pro. 1639.
M.P. for St. Michael and for Camelford.

and
92. Richard Allen of Ditchet. [Clerk.]
Rector of Ditchet, inst. 8 Apr. 1608.
"A celebrated Non-conformist divine."
[His son was rector of Batcombe, but was deprived in 1662 as "a preacher up of sedition, a zealous covenanter."]
93. John Conant of Lymington. [Clerk.]
Son Richard Conant of East Budleigh, Devon.
Bp. 18 March, 1585/6.
d. 13 April, 1653.
Will (P.C.C. 285 Brent) 8 Apr. 1653, pro. 26 Sept. 1653.
Rector of Lymington, Somerset, inst. 30 Dec. 1619.
Member of the Assembly of Divines.
[Brother of Roger Conant.]
[For full account of him see F. Odell Conant, *History of the Conant Family*.]
94. Richard Cooth of Ensom.
[? Edmondsham.]
[There was a John Cooth of Dorchester, will 1634, and a Richard Cooth of Sherborne, gent., mentioned in 1635.]

and

95. John Snooke of Temple Combe.
 [This may be a repetition of No. 80, or he may be the John Snook of St. Clements Danes, London, citizen and merchant-taylor, whose will is dated 17 Aug. 1665; he had lands in Virginia and mentions a cousin Robert Snook of Salisbury.]
*"all in the County of Somerset
 and"*
96. Walter Young of Coliton. [Gentleman.]
 Son John Yonge of Colyton, bp. 21 Apr. 1599.
 Bur. 26 Dec. 1649. Will (P.C.C. 29 Pembroke) 14 Mar. 1645.
 The Diarist. (See above p. 363)
 M.P. for Honiton.
97. John Poole Baronett of Colcomb.
 Son Sir William Pole, the Antiquary. b. c.1586.
 d. 16 April, 1658.
 M.P. for Devon, 1626.
 Created a baronet, 12 Sept. 1628.
98. William Fry of Yarty. [Gentleman.]
 b. c.1590. Mar. Mary, dau. John Yonge of Colyton.
 Bur. 1 May, 1672.
99. Periam Poole gent. neere Morton.
 Of High Haine near Moreton Hampstead.
 Son Sir William Pole, bp. 16 Apr. 1592.
 Bur. 29 Aug. 1642. Will (Exeter) pro. 21 Oct. 1642.
100. Richard Mallack gent. of Axmouth.
 Son William Mallock of Axmouth.
 Mar. Joane, dau. John Yonge of Colyton.
 Bur. 16 Sept. 1644. Admon. to his relict, Joan, 21 Feb. 1644/5.
101. John Davy of Crediton.
 Son John Davy of Sandford, Crediton.
 d. 13 Oct. 1654. Will (P.C.C. 101 Aylett) pro. 7 Aug. 1655.
 Created a Baronet 9 Sept. 1641.
 and
102. Elizabeth Poole of Seaton.
 Dau. Sir William Pole, bp. 25 Aug. 1588.
 d. 21 May, 1654.
 Emigrated to New England, with her bro. William.
*"all in the County of Devon
 and"*
103. Morgan Hayne living about New Castle.
 Son Oliver Hayne of Dorchester.
 Freeman of Dorchester, 1621.
 and

104. Thomas Southcott esq. of Mohuns Ottery.
 Son George Southcote of Bovey.
 Mar. Katherine, dau. Sir William Pole of Colyton.
 [Thomas and Richard Southcote who emigrated to New England were
 his kinsmen.]
105. Henry Walrond esq.
 Son William Walrond of Bradfield, bp. 18 July, 1584.
 Bur. 30 Apr. 1650.
 Will (P.C.C. 124 Pembroke) 7 Feb. 1649, pro. 11 July, 1650.
106. Joseph Long gent of Sidbury, in the County of Devon.
 [? Held land in Broadmayne and had a son William whose son Joseph
 Long emigrated to New England.]
107. Sr Arthur Smythes knight.
 Came to Dorchester to dwell with his family, 8 March, 1623/4, with
 his household. [W.W.]
 [New England Planters Parliament.]
108. Henry Masy of Kendall. [Clerk.]
 b. c.1589. Of Broadgates Hall, from Devon. [F.]
 Rector of Shafton St. Rumbold alias Cann, Dorset, 1612-1622. Rector
 of Templecombe, Somerset, 1613-1622.
109. Anthony Wilkins.
 [? Ambrose Wilkins and Alce Goddard mar. (Trinity,) 23 June, 1606.]
 [B.]
110. Pawle Derby. [Merchant.]
 In France.
 Son William Derby of Dorchester.
 Living 18 May, 1653. [B.]
 and
111. Anthony Derby both living in France.
 Son William Derby of Dorchester.
112. Henry Smyth living in New England.
 [Probably went to Dorchester, Mass., in the *Mary & John*, though not
 mentioned in list. His mother, who mar. Dr. Tobiah Sandford, is said
 by Whiteway to have gone in April, 1630. She mar., as her third hus-
 band, William Pyncheon, and this son, Henry Smith, migrated to Spring-
 field with them.]
113. Christopher Viney.
 [Perhaps an emigrant to New England, as placed between two other
 emigrants, or else this may be a repetition of No. 65.]
114. George Dier living in New England, aforesaid.
 Weaver of Dorchester in 1621.
 Sailed in the *Mary & John*.
115. Mary Hussey widow.
 [? widow of Thomas Hussey of Shapwick, Dorset, who had two sons,
 Thomas and Hubert, both mar. before the Visitation of 1623.]

116. John Humfrey gent. living in New England, aforesaid.
 Son Michael Humphry of Chaldon [No. 28 above.]
 Mar. (1) Isabell, dau. Brune Williams of Tynan in Isle of Purbeck.
 " (2) Elizabeth, dau. Herbert Pelham of Compton Valence, 1621.
 " (3) Lady Susan Fiennes, sister of the Earl of Lincoln, 1630.
 Treasurer of Dorchester Company and of London Company.
 Emigrated with his third wife to New England, 1633.
 Returned to England, 1641.
 d. (probably 1652). Admon. to son John, 4 June, 1653.
 [His son Col. John Humphry was sword-bearer before Judges of
 Charles I.]
 [New England Planters Parliament.]
117. John Raymond.
 ? of London.
118. John Vincent.
 ? Of London.
 ? Emigrant, John Vincent, at Sandwich, Mass., 1637.
 and
119. John White esq. [Barrister.]
 "Century White."
120. John Geering. [Grocer.]
 Son Simon Gearing of Lechlade, Gloucester, [? by Anne Bradshawe.]
 Mar. (1) ? Phebe, dau. John Reeve, Goldsmith, London.
 " (2) Rebecca, dau. Roger Oldfield and sister of Sarah, wife of Jose
 Glover, and also of Joseph Oldfield of the Massachusetts Bay Company.
 Citizen and grocer of London.
 Member of the East India Company.
 and
121. Mr Alden.
 Robert Alden—one of those who sold their rights to the Plymouth
 Planters in 1626. Bradford says:—"Mr. Allden (something now softened
 by my letter before mentioned) who was one of our powerfulest op-
 posers, did not yield thereto, but was a furtherer of the [composition
 with the Adventurers]."

APPENDIX IV

TWO ACCOUNTS RENDERED BY JOHN WHITE

These two documents throw some light upon the assistance John White gave to emigrants, and upon the great service he rendered to Winthrop's party at the critical period when, immediately after they landed, their food supply ran short. It has been put forward by the historians of the early settlement that Winthrop alone saved the colonists from starvation, but his efforts were greatly supplemented by White, who, as usual, has received no credit for his good deeds on this occasion.

Winthrop, in a letter to his son 23rd July, 1630, writes:— "We are forced to send to Bristowe for supply of provisions by Mr. Peirce and Mr. Allerton, for which I have given them a bill of exchange. You must needs take order [that] the money may be provided presently for them. . . . If all means fail Mr. Revel hath promised to help me with 100^{li}. . . . For the freight for the ships you shall receive some bills from Sir Richard, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Dudley, but it is doubtful whether their moneys will be ready."¹

Dudley says that before the ships sailed they "contracted with Mr. Peirce, Mr. of the Lyon of Bristowe, to return to us with all speed with fresh supply of victuals." This ship sailed about 1st August, and a bill for goods brought back on her was found among Winthrop's papers, showing that he received 34 hogsheads of wheat, 4 of oatmeal, 15 of pease, besides cheese, butter, suet, etc., in all costing 222^{li}.

On hearing of the serious condition of the colonists, White took steps to render aid. Owing to a bad season the exportation of corn from England was forbidden, and the distress was so great that the Mayor of Dorchester purchased corn and sold it at a lower rate to the poor of the town.² Licence for the transport of a specified amount of grain from Padstow and Truro, where there was plenty, to Bristol

¹ *History of New England*, I, p. 373.

² Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 159.

and Weymouth, was obtained from the Privy Council on 10th February, 1630/1, by George Way, a member of the late Dorchester Company; that sent to Weymouth was probably for the Mayor of Dorchester, while the Bristol consignment was re-shipped to New England. In the account here given the cost of carriage from Padstow to Bristol appears, and also the shipment of twenty-four and a half tons to New England. The details show that White's contribution in quantity was nearly the same as Winthrop's, and its cost amounted to 220^{li}, or about 2^{li} less than Winthrop expended.

Mr. Ford has assumed that White had the disbursement of the funds sent over by Winthrop, but this is obviously not the case, for the younger John Winthrop was to obtain the money from the sources above-named. Nor can it be that the account rendered refers to the money which Humfry mentions in a letter to Winthrop on 12th December, 1630, when he asks the Governor to arrange for the repayment "of 150^{li} which Mr. White had of me to lay out for corn." He asks that this sum and money due from the Arbella Company be sent on Mr. Peirce's return. For we find that White paid 130^{li} in three instalments, that the total outlay was 179^{li} 12. 0 for freight, customs and kindred expenses only, of which 49^{li} 12. 0 remained due to Allerton, yet White states that he had disbursed more than he had received "from the Contributors;" hence he could not be accounting for the 150^{li} from Humfry. What makes it absolutely certain that this 130^{li} was neither supplied by Winthrop nor by Humfry is the statement in the heading that "they of the Bay" would pay the amount due to Allerton for the carriage, Mr. White having no money in hand, and there was "no reason Mr. Whitt should, It is sufficient he procured the *guift*,"—i.e. the evidence shows that he collected this by his personal efforts for the benefit of the poor in New England, and rendered an account to the contributors according to his signed statement.

It seems strange that this account should remain unpaid for ten years, and that even then there was so much difficulty made before it was settled; but more extraordinary are the almost contemptuous terms in which Winthrop speaks of White's "guift" in the account he was called upon to render in 1635:— he had "received some meal and pease from Mr. White . . . bestowed upon such as had need."³ The money the Governor expended was upon food to benefit himself and his companions,—the money White collected was not for himself or his friends,

³ *Massachusetts Records*, 1635, p. 132.

but for the poor. It is therefore the greater injustice that for several centuries Winthrop has been praised for his noble acts to the exclusion of other claims, and that, even when the document here given was made known, the credit for the gift to the poor has been transferred from White, to whom it is wholly due, to Winthrop.⁴

The other document shows that White advanced money to emigrants, and laid out money on their behalf. In Rossiter's and Ludlowe's cases much remained unpaid for two years, and the ungrateful and dishonest Elford had been in debt for four years, and, if our surmise is correct, was not brought to book for ten years.

REV. JOHN WHITE'S ACCOUNT⁵

Debts owing vnto me in New England from sundry persons which I desire Mr. William Pynchon of Rocksbury to demand in my name and to receive for my use and to sue for it if they be denied or detained.

The Accompt of Mr. Edward Rosseters Executors.

He is debtor

For 10hh & 4 sacks of malte cont 86lb att 3s per lb.	12.18.00
For 10hh to putt it in at 3s 9d	01.17.06
For 86lb to Weymouth	00.10.11
For Porterage of 3 Tonnes of goods at Weymouth	00.03.00
For the passage of 13 persons att 3l 13s 4d each person	47.13.04
For freight of 12 Tonnes and 11lb of goods at 3l per Tonne	36.00.00
For 4 C(wt) of bread delivered him in New England by William Rockwell at 1lb 2d per C	04.00.08
For 2 C(wt) of bread delivered him by Mrs Rockwell at Plimmouth	01.08.00
	104.19.09
Brought forward	104.19.09
For freight of 2 Tunnes of goods from Weymouth to Plimmouth	001.10.09
	106.09.09

⁴ *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, 47, p. 242. "Winthrop had sent money and others had contributed. The money was apparently expended under the direction of Rev. John White," are the words used by Mr. Ford regarding this document.

⁵ *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 47, p. 346. To this account Winthrop refers in a letter to White, 4 July, 1632. *State Papers, Colonial*, VI, No. 63.

He is creditor

For money payd for malte etc.	16.11.01
For soe much payd in parte for freight of goods and passage of his people before his departure	26.10.00
For soe much payd him more att Plimouth	23.06.08
For soe much payd by his sonne Mr. Nich: Rossiter by his order Febru 4, 1630[1]	10.00.00
for soe much payd by the same April 1, 1631	15.00.00
	91.07.09
Too reste due by Mr. Rosseter's Executors to me	15.02.00
	106.09.09

John Elford^e owes

For soe much layd out for him vppon his letter in divers things which were taken vp vppon my name in severall shoapps by his Father in law George Panchards.	11lb.00.00
For this 11lb he sent over a bill signed by Mr. John Endecot to receive soe much money of the Adventurers for this Plantation and in the meane while dishonestly he received the 11lb of Mr. John Winthrop the Governor for that time in N: England	
Soe he hath owed me these 4 yeares	11lb.
The severall wares amounting to the summe of eleven pounds were fetched by me	

George Panchard^r

Mr. Ludlow^e of Dorchester owes me towards 20lb or upwards which was payd him neere two years since by Mr. John Winthrop then Governor for wages which I had payd vnto Deutch a Fisherman the perfect summe Mr. Winthrop can tell you.

^e John Elford, sailor, went to Salem with Endecott in 1628, or perhaps earlier. In 1631 he was charged with the murder of Thomas [Puckett?]. In 1639 he was excommunicated for divers sins. In 1639 he appeared before Lechford and William Peirce as sailor *de Amersterdam*, erased, and *nuper de Salem* substituted, as owing 24li to John White of Dorchester, clerk, and Thomas Bushrod of the same, being bound to pay 12li 6s 6d on 29th Sept. 1640, at the sign of the King of England, Bristoll, and [the balance?] at the house of Constantine Wells, in Amsterdam. [Lechford, *Note Book*, p. 201.] This may refer to the 11li with interest due according to the account above.

^r The signature is original.

^e Roger Ludlowe went out with the West country men from Plymouth in March, 1630.

Vera Copia This copy of an accompt delivered me by Mr Allerton to []
 7 Septemb. vnto Mr White to write to the Governour of the bay that it is
 1632. due unto Mr. Allerton, & that he has not payd it, but they of
 the Bay [are] to pay it, Mr. White having noe moneyes in his
 hands for that businesse & to desire his note to that effect they
 will pay it, noe reason Mr Whitt should; It is sufficient he
 procured the guift.

An account of charges of a barke of goods sent by Mr. George
 Wa(y) of Dorchester for the accompt of Mr Jno: White minister
 or preacher of God's worde at dorchester from Padstow in Corne-
 well followeth

1631

Decemb. 18. Imps. payd a barke freight loaden with Corne to Bristoll 08:
 for Mr Wayes man & diet aboard the barke 00:
 for the barks Companies Supper 00:06
 for the returne of the warrant 00:10
 for a certificate to Barnstaple y [? by] Mayor 0 00
 pd the Corne measurer for his fee 00
 pd the barks freight from Bristoll to Banstaple 0 0
 pd boats & porters to land the (meal) 00
 pd for storehouse to put the meale in 2/8 00 14:00
 pd for another storehouse to put the remaynder of the
 meale in 00 05 00
 pd for a man to goe downe with the Barke 01.00 00
 the goods beinge storred to cleare them, those goods part
 amounteth unto 05 13 06
 pd for a barke from Barnstaple to Bristoll back againe 05 00 00
 for 2 boats & porters to land the goods 00 10 00
 for a mans charges that came with the goods 00 17 00
 pd demurrage untill a storehouse was provided I being
 not there my selfe 00 13
 pd for a warrant, & officers fees in custome house 00 15 00
 WW for freight of 6 butts 49 hh 30 barr of meale from Padstow
 JS RS by Mr Way marked as in the margent. And 2^{hh} of meale
 & pease sent from Padsto by Mr Way for Mr Southcott.
 And 25 tearses of pease & oatmeale sent by Mr William
 Vassell by Mr Whites order wch he payd for. And wch
 was sent 1^{hh} of wch was marked WWWW (all wch amount-
 eth to) ¼ at 4^{li} per ton: Mr Wayes was for Mr Purchas'
 accompt 97.00:00
 for haulinge & carredge litridge & wharfidge at 3/8 per
 ton 03.12 09
 windage to the ships company 02 08 06
 134.04 0.

For charges on these goods being 24 tonn & $\frac{1}{4}$ accordinge to the proportion of the whole about 35 ^{hs} 4 ^d $\frac{1}{2}$ per tonn is	42:09:02
Mr Way demandeth mony for 8 bushells of meale beinge one hh marked WWWW wch beinge heare put ashore & used it must be allowed at 7 ^{sh} 3 ^d per bushell	2 18
	179.12 0

Mr. White is Creditor

decemb 1630. y [?by] 50 ^{li} rec. y his order of Mr Arthur kinge of Bristoll	50.00:00
May 20 rec of Mr Way per bill of exch per Mr. Whits order & accountpt	40 00 00
April 15. 1632 rec of him by exch by Mr Whits order	40.00.00
	130.00.00
due to Mr Allerton to ballaunce his accountpt	49 12 00
	179 12

[In White's handwriting]

ffor the article of 42^{lb} 9s or for the Charges vppon the goods sent for the
releiving of the poore people in Newe England I payd nothing to Mr Allerton
as having disbursed before more money then I received as appears by the account
wch I gave in to the Contributors wch I testify this September 27 1640

John White

Thomas Bushroade merchant aged thirtie six or thereabout being sworne maketh
oath that this abouewritten was suscribed as the act and deede of the aboue said
Mr. John White by the said Mr John White himselfe in the presence of the said
Thomas.

Tho Bushrod.

Jurat : coram me

C then bridges Jus N : B

2 die Septis

The above I copied in 1902 from *Massachusetts Archives* at the State House.

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